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Proportionate Representation

In the House of Deputies of the General Convention.

THAT the representation of Dioceses in the House of Deputies in the General Convention should be proportionate to the number of communicants or of Church members in the Dioceses would on a first or superficial view strike most persons as only reasonable and just. The question has been but recently raised, and thus far the advocates of such numerical representation seem to have it all their own way. Their arguments appear to many to have settled the question. In their view it only remains that the General Convention should be constrained by the overwhelming force of public opinion to change its constitution, so as to secure representation of Dioceses in accordance with numbers only, or, as some would have it, of numbers and wealth. The argument of Prof. Lawrence in the October number of this REVIEW is among the ablest that has appeared. Having read this article with care, after some study of the general subject of representative government, we reached the conclusion that our present system of representation is infinitely preferable to the theoretical one proposed to be substituted for it. Stating our views to one of the ablest and best-read of our laymen, we solicited his critical and dispassionate examination of the professor's arguments to see whether the views we had expressed were therein successfully impeached. The notes here following are the result of our examination and discussions. Brief and imperfect as they are, they at least show that there is another side to the question which merits consideration and for which something may be said. In fact, it is a much deeper and more difficult question than the writers and speakers upon it have as yet apprehended.

To begin with, it is to be remarked that the House of Bishops is not, except indirectly or incidentally, representative

of the Dioceses. For, assistant Bishops have equal voting power with their principals, which would give Dioceses having two Bishops double the power in the House of Bishops of those with a single Diocesan, on the representative principle. The fact is, that the Bishops correspond to the Executive of the United States civil government. The House of Clerical Deputies and the House of Lay Deputies voting separately correspond to the two houses of Congress. As the Executive must consent in order to legislation, so must the Bishops. Representation of the clergy and laity proportionately to numbers would be like making the United States Senate so representative; a revolutionary measure which no one has been bold enough to propose.

Now first it is evident that the professor shrinks from the application of the principle he theoretically maintains. That principle is numerical representation pure and simple. The theoretical and statistical arguments in favor of it occupy about eleven-twelfths of his article. But when he comes to its practical application he realizes the difficulty, and makes alternative suggestions which would be as really in conflict with his theory as is the present system. Thus he says, "Each Diocese might be allowed one clerical and one lay representative, and then one more of each order for a certain number of thousands of communicants." And then he asks, as another alternative, "Is some form of a provincial system out of the question?" and clearly indicates his own inclination to the devising of such a system in harmony, "as far as possible," with the representative national principle.

Indeed he feels just as all good political economists have felt, when they come to apply their theories to existing conditions. Except perhaps in Switzerland, which is so small as to be exceptionally free from the difficulties, in no country in Christendom has any statesman been found bold enough to propose a pure, unchecked democracy and numerical representation. In this country, while we have the principle recognized in the House of Representatives, we have its check and counterfoil in the Senate, in which the numerical principle does not prevail; and as no statute can pass without the concurrence of both houses and the approval of the execu-

tive, no flagrant wrong can be inflicted upon minorities. In England, notwithstanding the rapid advance of democratic principles, the necessity for checks and balances has been recognized by the most democratic statesmen. Lord Beaconsfield, the Tory democrat, proposed and carried the principle of household suffrage; but he at the same time proposed not only to continue several then existing suffrages of other character, such as the old forty-shillings freehold specially representing land or territory, but also to create several novel "fancy franchises," as they were called, as make-weights and checks on household suffrage. Mr. Gladstone, the Liberal democrat, while proposing a re-distribution of seats in Parliament on the principle of numerical representation, found it necessary to respect the rights and interests of minorities by preserving the existing Parliamentary boroughs having not less than 10,000 population. And even the extreme Radical party, on the advice of their more thoughtful and statesmanlike leaders, recognized the necessity for and supported this reservation, and this notwithstanding the existence of a separate, non-representative branch of the legislature in the House of Lords.

If therefore we were to concede the analogy of Church to civil government, and that the same principles and methods should be applied to the government of both (which we can not do without very material qualifications), we should still deny that merely numerical representation would be the just result. What all statesmen have felt is that *interests* (and even areas of country) have to be represented as well as numbers, that the two are not always identical or harmonious, and that the best system of representation is that which reflects and harmonizes both.

Now to come to our own Church system. Prof. Lawrence evidently desires and even contends for the application of his principle to the Diocesan as well as the General Convention. He seems to pass lightly over the former, but so far as he does refer to it, he assumes or admits that if the existing system is wrong as to the latter, it must also be wrong as to the former, and for the same reasons. "Two wrongs," he says, "do not make one right," and he would therefore get

the former right, rather than allow its wrong to perpetuate or afford a reason for perpetuating what he regards as a greater wrong. Nor can the two be separated. If the principle of mere numbers is to be applied to the highest representative body in the Church in the aggregate, it must be applied to the smaller representative bodies of which it is an aggregation, if we are to preserve anything like homogeneity, or harmony, or system.

Now see what this would mean. In most of our smaller Dioceses (small numerically but often vast in area) there is one large city where the communicants are numerically nearly or quite equal to those of all the other parts of the Diocese combined. And the delegates from the city parishes will generally be men of more experience and ability in public address and in the management of bodies of men. This principle applied, the representatives of such city would easily in case of conflict swamp and stifle those of all the other parishes and mission congregations in the Diocese. Further, in some such cities one central parish is numerically so much larger than any other that its solitary voice, from the preponderating numbers and wealth, and the political ability of its representatives, would on a principle of unchecked numerical representation out-vote and over-ride not only the votes of the other city parishes, but that of the whole Diocese outside itself. We need not travel far for an illustration of this. Not only would Denver out-vote Colorado, but one central parish in Denver might out-vote the whole, and control the election of a Bishop and all missionary and other legislation. So it might be in Omaha, in San Francisco, in Portland, and other like cases. And it *might* happen, that a particular parish in that position of advantage might evince the very smallest degree of interest in the affairs or needs of the Diocese as a whole, its own multifarious concerns, apart from any missionary work whatsoever, being allowed to absorb all its energies and its means. Extreme cases are the tests of principles, it is said, but this, if an extreme, is not an impossible nor an improbable case: it is one of not uncommon existence.

In the application of the principle to the General Convention we accept Prof. Lawrence's statistics. He shows that

twenty-five Dioceses with 79,000 communicants may now out-vote twenty-four Dioceses with 326,000 communicants. Let his principle be applied, and where would the twenty-five Dioceses be? Nay, we might add more to the twenty-five, and ask, where would they all be, as against half a dozen of the most populous Dioceses? Might we not carry the argument yet further, and ask whether forty-five Dioceses might not be powerless against five? or whether New York and Pennsylvania, if combined, might not hold at bay and defeat legislation in the interests of all the others in the American Church? It must be considered, too, that the few populous Dioceses which would be given control by numerical representation embrace but a very limited area and the local interests of such area, while the Dioceses now small in communicants, but of infinitely varied interests and of prospective importance beyond human calculation, embrace the whole great West and the South, in fact almost the whole area of the country.

What would the natural result of this be, as well in parishes with regard to Diocesan Conventions, as in Dioceses with regard to the General Convention? It needs no prophet to tell what the result would be. The loss of power and influence would inevitably lead to loss of interest, consciousness of impotency, and despair of success in Church organization and work in remote districts, congregations, or Dioceses, and the neglect, because of the uselessness, of sending such small representations as might be allowed. It requires no very profound reading of history to teach us that, both in Churches and in nations, this has been the common as it is the natural result of concentration of power, whether from the despotism of one or the few, or the despotism of many. Any principle that so obviously tends to centralization can never be applied in the American Church without disaster. Church history at least has for us this lesson.

The framers of all systems of government have had to learn, that the most perfect government is not that which is framed by the indiscriminate and uncompromising application of theories. There should be, on the contrary, the practical consideration and careful protection of all interests of the various

sections concerned, by means of judicious compromise. It is well known that great political economists, such as John Stuart Mill, Professor Rogers, and others in England, have been utter failures in the work of practical legislation, and have been compelled to learn by experience, as one of them said, that, after all, judicious compromise was the secret of wise, practical legislation.

The financial argument is no doubt a very plausible one—that they who pay the money should determine its expenditure. To a certain extent this may be a right principle as applied to civil government, although even there the principle of proportionate moneyed representation does not apply. For if it did, the largest tax-payers, or at any rate the communities contributing the largest revenues, ought to be represented according to such amount and not to mere numbers. But surely this is not a right principle to be applied in the Church! Prof. Lawrence refers to the moneys received for mission purposes, and asks whether twenty-five Dioceses which give in one year \$8000 for missions ought to have a greater voting power than twenty-four Dioceses which give \$314,000. Of course he assumes in such a question that the twenty-five Dioceses have one common interest and the twenty-four Dioceses have another and opposite interest, and that these twenty-four and twenty-five are combined, each class to defeat the other respectively,—an assumption which is itself not only an extreme one but impossible of realization, and one which wholly ignores the unity of the Church and the common purpose for which the Church exists. It is right and reasonable to assume that those populous and wealthy Dioceses contribute their domestic mission funds with a view to the expenditure of the same where mission work is most needed, where it will accomplish the greatest good, and will tell most in the future growth of the Church. Now who are most likely to know and understand these needs and the prospective results from missionary expenditure, the representatives of these thickly populated and wealthy Dioceses, or those of the poor and sparsely populated Dioceses where the mission work is to be chiefly done, and for the needs of which the mission funds are in large measure provided, and who, if specially biassed in favor of

their own particular Dioceses, are sufficiently checked by the representatives of all the other Dioceses in the same position and having similar bias? All this applies especially to the General Convention sitting as the Board of Missions of the Church.

Prof. Lawrence asks: "Are we ready to accept the principle of a divided Church within national limits, and cast away the thought of a National Church as the ideal of a Universal Church?" We answer a thousand times, "No," and we venture to add that the only way to preserve a National Church and to avoid and prevent a divided Church is by all the means in our power to preserve unity of spirit, unity of interests, unity of purpose, and unity of operation, and to remember that if "quantity as well as variety of opinion should be recognized," as Prof. Lawrence says, so also variety as well as quantity of opinion should be recognized, and everything should be avoided that would be calculated to divide interests, to set great sections in antagonism to small, to create classes and parties in the Church, and to make the poorer and thinner settled Dioceses feel that they are placed in contrast and conflict with those which are richer and more populous, and that mere numbers and wealth are the determining powers in the Church of GOD.

There is much more to be said in support of the view here taken, which may be said should it seem expedient or necessary at some other time, but we trust enough has been here said to set at rest the question of mere proportionate numerical representation.

JOHN F. SPALDING.

II.

IN the CHURCH REVIEW for October, 1888, appeared an article on Proportional Representation in the House of Deputies of the General Convention of the Church. It is an exceedingly ingenious and plausible argument in favor of such a representation. It is, however, based upon several fallacious assumptions, which when brought to light will, I think, entirely overthrow the conclusion reached by the author.

In the first place, it is represented that, out of the existing forty-nine Dioceses, the twenty-five smaller ones could out-vote the twenty-four larger ones, though the former have but 79,227 communicants and the latter 325,943. Theoretically, perhaps, this is possible, but practically it is impossible. A mere glance at the list of the twenty-five smaller Dioceses, as given in the article, shows that to conceive of their being all arranged on the same side of any earnestly disputed question is preposterous. In any really important matter of Church polity or ritual, we can hardly conceive that Fond du Lac and Springfield would be found voting with Delaware and West Virginia; and among the larger twenty-four Dioceses, the record shows that New York and New Jersey are in the great majority of instances, if not on all strongly contested questions, in opposition to Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. Practically there would be no large preponderance of small Dioceses or large Dioceses on either side of any division. This, then, is fallacy number one in the article referred to, viz., that all the small Dioceses can ever be arrayed on one side of a question and all the large Dioceses on the other side.

A second fallacy in the argument consists in the assumption that the communicants in any given Diocese are at unity on all deeply agitating questions, so that the vote cast by their deputies in the General Convention represents the views of the entire number of communicants in the Diocese. The contrary is notoriously the fact. In every Diocese there is a minority, and often a very large minority. When seeking, then, to ascertain on which side of a question stands the majority of the whole number of communicants in the Church, these large minorities in large Dioceses must be taken into account and added to the sum of the majorities in the smaller Dioceses; while, on the other hand, only very much smaller minorities, in the small Dioceses, are to be added to the majorities in the large Dioceses. Thus it may very easily happen that, even if it were possible for any question to be decided by the vote of small Dioceses exclusively, the majority of communicants throughout the whole Church might, nevertheless, be found on the side of the small Dioceses.

In estimating majorities we do not take the whole number

of individuals who constitute the more numerous party, but only the excess of the larger party over the smaller. The latter balance an equal number of the former, and it is only the surplus that constitutes the majority in any one Diocese. This excess may be a very small number in a large Diocese, and a much larger number in a small Diocese. In the former the division is usually much closer than in the latter. This is evidenced by the fact that it is so often impossible for the former to elect a Bishop, except by compromise or mutual conference of the party leaders. While in small Dioceses the difficulty is, not to elect, but to find some well-qualified presbyter who will accept after being elected. Hence, paradox as it may seem, the vote of the deputies from a large Diocese may really represent fewer communicants than those from a smaller Diocese, inasmuch as the effective representation is only for that number by which the larger party exceeds the smaller in their respective Dioceses.

An illustration by numbers will make this clearer. For brevity and convenience, we will take only average and round numbers. The average number of communicants in each of the twenty-five smaller Dioceses is about 3000; in each of the twenty-four larger Dioceses, about 13,000. Now suppose that in the smaller Dioceses the average number of communicants favoring the affirmative of any resolution brought before the General Convention to be 2000, and those in the negative 1000; while in the larger Dioceses the average number in the affirmative consists of 6000 communicants, and those in the negative of 7000. In each of the twenty-five smaller Dioceses there would be an average majority of 1000 in the affirmative, that is, 25,000 in all; while in each of the twenty-four larger Dioceses there would be an average majority in the negative of 1000, but in all only 24,000. In such a case, to represent the Dioceses by deputies in proportion to the number of communicants would be a gross injustice. On this plan the smaller Dioceses would on an average be entitled to only one deputy to every four from the larger Dioceses. That is, the twenty-four larger Dioceses, with a total majority of 24,000, would cast ninety-six votes, and the twenty-five smaller Dioceses, with a total majority of 25,000, would

cast only twenty-five votes. This example, it is true, is a merely supposed instance, but when we take into consideration the usually small majorities upon a party question in the larger Dioceses, and the much greater comparative homogeneity of the smaller Dioceses, I think it a fair inference that though occasionally the majority vote of the deputies might not represent the majority of communicants, yet in the far greater number of instances it could scarcely fail to do so. At any rate, the advantage, if any, would be as likely to accrue to the larger Dioceses as to the smaller.

A third fallacy in the argument consists in the assumption that a proportional representation from the Dioceses would more nearly and adequately express the views of the communicants; and that whether the present mode of election of deputies be retained or some other mode be devised with a special view to their proper apportionment.

If the present method of election be retained, the majority would not only choose their own proportion of deputies to represent their own views, but also the proportion due to the minority to misrepresent the views of the latter. Before proportional representation could with any justice be ordained, it would be necessary to devise some method by which the minority in each Diocese could choose its own deputies independently of the majority. This would be a very difficult matter, and the attempt to accomplish it would doubtless cause more discord and heart-burning than has or under the present system is ever likely to arise. In secular matters the attempt has been made to secure a representation of minorities by what is called cumulative voting; but it is so intricate in its application, and so liable to abuse, that it has fallen into disrepute and almost oblivion. To secure for the minority the number of deputies to which they are justly entitled calls for a very nice adjustment of the requisite repetitions of single names and an exact adherence on the part of all to the precise ballot prepared for them. Such adjustment and adherence could be attained only by the strictest party drill. Practically through misunderstanding or neglect on the part of some in the minority, the majority could very easily secure more deputies than properly belong to them; or on the other hand,

through mismanagement on the part of the majority, the minority might secure a majority of the representation.

In the election of deputies to the General Convention the matter is still further complicated by the fact that the Diocesan Conventions are themselves in part representative bodies. The communicants in many of the parishes, especially in those towns where there is but a single church, are divided in opinion. To represent all views by delegates to the Diocesan Conventions would be impracticable. The attempt to do so would introduce into the parishes a fruitful subject of contention, and would intensify bitter party spirit, which would largely hinder if not destroy the very object of the Church's existence, the spiritual advancement of its members. If the cumulative plan would thus introduce greater evils than it could possibly cure, the only alternative remains of electing a proportional representation by a simple majority. This would be a greater injustice than the present system. By it the minority, instead of being simply not represented, would be misrepresented.

A proportional representation, even if attained, would by no means necessarily secure the majority of communicants on the side of the affirmative of every resolution adopted by the General Convention. In choosing the President of the United States, the electors are a representative body proportioned to the total population in each State. Yet several of the presidents have been chosen by a minority vote of the people, and in some instances the defeated candidate has received more of the popular vote than the successful one. Even when each representative is voted for by a separate constituency, the majority of representatives is not always of the same complexion with the majority of the whole people. The President of the United States, as well as the Governor of a particular State, is frequently of a different party from the majority in Congress, or the Legislature, elected at the same time.

A fourth fallacy consists in the assumption that if deputies were elected who could represent in due proportion the opposing views of the total number of communicants on one question that might come before the General Convention, they

would likewise represent, in due proportion, their views on all questions. Majorities vary largely even in the same Diocese when voting on different questions. In order, therefore, to secure the accurate representation of the views of the communicants in each Diocese upon every question, a new apportionment of deputies would have to be made previously to each balloting, or else some of the communicants would be misrepresented. For instance, the dropping of the title "Protestant Episcopal," and also numerous other changes in the Prayer Book, were brought before the last General Convention. The majority in many of the Dioceses was opposed to the former, but in favor of some or all of the other changes. Suppose, for example, that in a particular Diocese the proportion of communicants favoring a change of name, by dropping "Protestant Episcopal," was three to ten; in the case of some other change, as eight to five; in still another case, as ten to three, etc.; how will it be possible to select a body of thirteen men, who shall on these different questions be so differently divided? The attempt would be absurd. It would require not only an exact knowledge of the views of every communicant, but also, what is an utter impossibility, the discovery of thirteen men who would exactly represent, in due proportion, all possible questions that might come before the General Convention. In fact, the views of no large body of men can be accurately represented on all questions by deputies chosen in any way whatever. The only alternative would be to send to the General Convention the whole body of communicants in the United States.

A fifth fallacy does not so much affect the argument for or against proportional representation as it impugns the author's clearness of logical perception. "One lay deputy," he says, "representing Arkansas with 1364 communicants, if he be the only deputy from Arkansas, has an equal vote with the four lay deputies from New York, with 44,256." The whole argument of the author is intended to establish the point that the number of communicants should be proportionally represented. How then can the "disproportion be practically increased," whether one deputy or four deputies cast the one vote to which each Diocese is entitled? Is it

meant to be suggested that the deputies should vote individually and cast from one to four votes according to the number that happens to be present? That would be to take an unworthy advantage of the remoteness and poverty of many of the smaller Dioceses, which alone cause their small representation. Such an arrangement, however, would not always tend to increase the power of the older and larger Dioceses. When the election of Dr. (now Bishop) Seymour to the episcopate of Illinois came before the General Convention, only a minority of Dioceses voted to confirm; but of the total number of deputies actually present, a majority voted in favor of confirmation. The rule of voting by Dioceses, and not as individuals, enabled those opposed to the confirmation to defeat it; and these opponents were mainly from the older and stronger Dioceses, that were more numerously represented.

The claim that "twenty-five deputies from one-fifth of the communicants of the Church may have a greater voting power than ninety-six deputies representing four-fifths of the communicants," is a glaring fallacy. The deputies individually have no voting power at all. It is the Diocese which casts a vote. The deputies are simply the instruments. There is no greater or less voting power whether the single ballot of a single Diocese is cast by one deputy having no colleagues present to consult, or whether it is cast by a single deputy after consultation with his three colleagues. The author fails to keep clearly in mind that the deputies act not for themselves but for a single common constituency.

Of the reasons given for making a change in the manner of representation in the General Convention, three only require notice, one practical, one theoretical, and one moral.

The practical argument is based on the necessity of a change in order to avoid the danger of disunion. In support of this view, the author quotes Bishop White: "Measures may be adopted by a majority according to the Constitution, but dissented from by an acknowledged majority of our Episcopal population. It can hardly be supposed, and is contrary to our observation of human nature, that the measures would be submitted to." Bishop White was a man of good

sound practical judgment, and the Church owes much to him for being safely carried through a very stormy period of intense party strife, aggravated by political animosities. The influence of political differences has utterly vanished from the Church, and ecclesiastical party spirit has very much abated within the last twenty-five years. When the latter occasionally appears, it is now generally reprobated even by men of opposite views. The danger of disruption in the Church is, therefore, not nearly as great as in those earlier days, and is steadily becoming less, in proportion as the clergy and laity learn to appreciate more and more its comprehensive character.

But allowing full force to Bishop White's foreboding, what is the just inference? The equal representation of Dioceses has been maintained for one hundred years. Many hotly contested questions have been brought before the General Convention. They have been decided by a constitutional majority, and though some individuals have been discontented or have uttered even angry words, those decisions have been generally acquiesced in. Now, if Bishop White's estimation of human nature is correct, is it not a fair inference that, on the whole, the constitutional majority has represented the actual "majority of our Episcopal population?" If this has been the case for one hundred years, surely that is a sufficient time to test the practical working of the present system of representation.

The history of the General Convention shows it to have been a highly conservative body, and much of that character has no doubt arisen from the fact of equal representation of the Dioceses. Each of these being entitled to only a single vote, they have in general been careful to send deputies who will express views acceptable to the great majority of communicants within their respective limits; so that there is little danger of any radical change being adopted by the General Convention until it is not only acceptable to, but urged by, "an acknowledged majority of our Episcopal population." An attempted proportionate representation would tend to destroy this conservative character by dividing the Convention into two parties, whose line of demarcation should be strictly

drawn, each of which would be eager to carry out its own extreme views.

The second argument is that "a correct theory should be put into practice as soon as it is practicable." I think I have shown already the utter impracticability of this theory, that it is impossible by any system of election to secure an exact proportionate representation of the communicants in each Diocese even upon a single question, much less upon all of the numerous important topics that come before each General Convention.

The third argument for proportional representation is its justice. Certainly justice is a moral principle and ought always to take precedence of mere expediency or custom; but unless some method can be devised for securing an exact and adequate proportional representation, different from any of the imperfect and clumsy attempts that I have seen suggested, far greater injustice would result than has practically been found in the present system. It would be unjust that a mere majority in a parish should send to a Diocesan Convention the total proportional representation of a parish. It would be unjust that a mere majority in a Diocese should send the total proportional representation to the General Convention. By such a method the majority in each parish and the minority in each Diocese would be utterly and hopelessly disfranchised; and in fact the votes which they ought to have would be turned over to the majority to increase the power of the latter.

To represent minorities with exact fairness has tasked the skill and ingenuity of political reformers for a long time, and no adequate solution has been found. Until this has been accomplished it is idle to talk about the justice of a proportionate representation.

The conclusion drawn from a careful examination of the entire subject is, that the present system does, on the whole, express the will and wishes of the majority of the communicants of the Church; or if not their exact wish, at least that which satisfies them, and what they are willing to accept; since as reasonable men they recognise the fact that in so large a body so many and various views will be entertained on all subjects, that no single definite expression could exactly re-

present the view of any large number, much less of a decided majority.

WM. W. OLSSEN.

Robert Elsmere.

Robert Elsmere. By MRS. HUMPHRY WARD. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

One evidence of the abiding power of CHRIST is found in the movements of human thought. The attractive influence of the Sun and Moon is seen in the tides of ocean, and that of CHRIST has its witness in all the tides of literature. Even the clamoring interests of these busy times can not silence that supreme question, "Whom do men say that I, the SON OF MAN, am?" that is, "Whom am I above and beyond this humanity that I wear as a vestment?"

Voltaire predicted, more than a hundred years ago, that "before the beginning of the nineteenth century Christianity will have disappeared from the earth." Yet here it is still, with augmented power touching the deepest springs of human life, and demanding a hearing and an answer to that query of its Divine Founder.

In this most striking work of the day, *Robert Elsmere*, we see only another evidence of this compelling, unsilenced theme, by its introduction into the realm of fiction, arrayed in the winning drapery of romance. It shows the immortality of the subject. Here is a book that may do much harm to the weak or half-informed, to those who get their only theology from such sources, or it may aid the strong in faith to be stronger still.

It is widely read and praised by skeptics and so-called "Liberal Christians," as showing that an intelligent inquirer, discarding sentiment and emotion, led by independent criticism and reason, must reject the supernatural in religion, and classify CHRIST in history as "one of those great ones of earth," merely, who are teachers and reformers.

The arguments in the book against the reality of the Resurrection and Divinity of our LORD are merely the old fossils of

the Tübingen school of Strauss and Bauer. Those writers contradicted each other and dropped from public notice. Now, after twenty-five years' burial, Mrs. Ward has discovered their bones and set them rattling, as if any intelligent reader could mistake them for flesh-and-blood beings. Just as Robert Ingersoll tried to astonish this generation by exhuming the coarse or frivolous objections to the Bible made by Paine, and which were answered by Bishop Richard Watson so effectually that they lay quietly buried for a century; so Mrs. Ward, presuming that a generation had arisen ignorant of Bauer and Strauss's controversies, has sought to reclothe these bugbears as if they were new issues.

Yet many who will read no theological discussion of the subject, and no answer from a Christian standing-point, will imbibe the poison of doubt from this pleasant fiction. In this respect it merits serious attention. Its aim seems to be to show the destructive effect of modern criticism upon traditional faith. The skeptical characters introduced are fruits of a certain epoch of speculative thought about the time of the famous "Essays and Reviews."

As types of this pure intellectual process the author gives us the portraits of the Oxford tutors Grey and Langham, Squire Wendover the cynic philosopher, and lastly Robert Elsmere, the ideal and idol of the writer; starting as a priest in the Church of England, but developing out of his old faiths under the first-named instructors, and coming at last to feel that he can not accept the Creed, and at a sacrifice of personal comfort and interests giving up his ministerial function, to be an East End lecturer and the founder of a supposititious sect, "The Brotherhood of CHRIST,"—"neither an Unitarian," the author says, "nor an English Churchman."

At the other end of the gallery stands Elsmere's sweet Christian wife, Catherine, clinging to her inherited faith in JESUS as "GOD manifest," guided by emotion and sensibility; while her husband by contrast stands for intellectual strength and mental freedom, and by the aid of a system of evolutionary evidences and a historic criticism breaking the shackles of his old faith. On this mental act turns the interest of the novel, and by this it must be judged.

In one respect Mrs. Ward has, perhaps unintentionally, drawn one of the strongest indictments of that phase of Broad Churchism which aims to minimize the supernatural in religion, and has shown us the self-contradictions into which "Liberal Christianity" is forced by the inexorable logic of her premises.

There are three ways of forming a judgment of any man: first, by what men say of him; second, by what he claims for himself; and third, by what we ourselves find him. The same rule applies to books.

Let any one reflect, after a perusal of this book, what it is that gives a color of sadness to it, and he will find that it is the breaking down of positive faith in a man's character; the misery of any mental condition pledged to indefiniteness, the dismal failure of a mere intellectual cultus to satisfy the soul-nature; the loss of symmetry in character and the moral drift which follows when the Divinity of CHRIST is rejected; the inconsistency which stops at half-way measures, and which dogs every attempt to reconstruct Christian ethics or society out of the dismembered fragments of "The Faith once delivered."

On the other hand, the most beautiful picture in Mrs. Ward's whole grouping of characters and incident is the Leyburn family. There are intelligence, grace, exalted purity and devotion. And what has produced it? This same orthodox Faith as instilled by a Christian father and priest of the Church. It reminds one of M. Taine's confession, that the purest and most refined homes on earth are to be found in an English country parsonage. It is that faith and influence which runs through the whole story like a thread of gold through common stuff. Without Catherine Elsmere, the book would be a valley of dry bones.

The best and noblest elements in Robert Elsmere himself are derived under the training of his mother Church. These are carried over with him as a part of his spiritual dowry, and lend him the real strength shown in his future efforts. These linger on like sweet odors in a vessel emptied of its substance. Now turn to the representation of modern skepticism introduced into this book, and where is there one

whom the author places before us as well-rounded or consistent? Is it Grey, or Langham, or Wendover, or Madame de Netteville, who makes Elsmere a guilty confession of unlawful love—a disgrace to both, telling him to his face, "I am not responsible to your petty codes. Nature and feeling are enough for me" [p. 594]. Each one of these people are so many instances of arrested development. Every one loses expansiveness and balance when they turn away from CHRIST as GOD.

Grey is made to talk of Christianity being small and local,—of the larger drama sweeping on and around and beyond it, and yet all those men without Christian faith, are shown as narrowing down into sharp intellectual grooves, producing no fruits but words, words. Mrs. Ward is less than kind to her intellectual hero. She would have the reader see in him a strong nature breaking away from the emotional side of religion to give full play to a free mental group of religious questions. But how does he fulfill expectations? Robert Elsmere leaves college, having at a late hour decided to enter the ministry, apparently with no consuming "inward call," or deep convictions of its awful duties and responsibilities, and Mrs. Ward permits us to infer that a certain ready-made "living" is not without its weight in influencing the decision he makes. He accepts Holy Orders, marries, and goes to his parish a young man, little more than a big boy,—at his death, we are told he had not been married four years. In this parish he meets a robust infidel and scholarly recluse, of whom it may be said, as it was of Brougham, "his forte was science and his foible omniscience." Under the influence of this Squire Wendover and his attractive library, a horror of great doubt begins to settle down upon him. To whom does he go for counsel and help in his new trouble, admitting his crudeness and immaturity? Is it to his Bishop, or a divinity professor, or other defender of the Faith, whose judgment it is as reasonable to suppose would be as calm and just, as are impugnors of Christian dogma? No. But he goes to Grey, who leads on the susceptible youth to doubt more broadly, who speaks oracularly of the facts of the Gospel as mere "Christian mythology." He consults Langham, steeped

in chronic melancholy, in whom the warm life-blood of a definite Christian faith has long since flowed away, leaving only a sad effigy of a splendid being. Mrs. Ward herself tells us of the growth of the "critical pessimist sense which laid the axe to the root of enthusiasm after enthusiasm"; of "the cold critical instinct which had been for years draining his life of all its natural energies" [p. 249]; a man "in whom will and manhood and true human kindness are dying out poisoned by despair and the tyranny of the critical habit" [p. 507]. He is the one who sneers at a clergyman for his "Anglican logic in dealing with the Bible," and in the next breath owns that clergyman to be the possessor of all that "is best and worth having in mind and life" [p. 238]. He puts himself under Wendover's instructions, the man, "fresh from the speculative ferment of Germany and the far profaner scepticism of France" [p. 371]. Mrs. Ward candidly confesses that Elsmere was unfitted to do battle with the sophistries of this Faust of the story,— "that the long physical strain of the past months had weakened for the moment all the controlling forces of the will" [p. 403]. The young rector, oppressed with parish cares, and an exhausting ministry in an infected hamlet, is made to acknowledge that "he has neither learning nor experience enough" to analyse the Squire's destructive books, yet is fascinated by this man's society. We follow the sad career,—the reading and the conversation, all of which leave their fiery drops upon his religious convictions until they shrink—turn to ashes. We fail to see in this process that manly independence with which the author would glorify her idol. He bows his intelligence before this lay Pope,—with no question of his infallibility.

Now, that which would be the natural course of action in a strong, well-balanced mind to do, under the circumstances, would be fuller investigation of this process of criticism that was eating away his Christian faith. When a man's title to a valued inheritance is challenged, he demands that the records shall be searched and all the facts in his favor be presented. If a charge affecting the good name of a dear friend, wife, or child were made by an acknowledged enemy, there would be a reasonable suspicion of its honesty, and

clear proof would be demanded. But here, Mrs. Ward offers us the case of an inexperienced parson exposing his good things to evil, greedily absorbing that which he knows is poisoning his faith and must wound other hearts. And still, during those miserable months when the doctrine of an Incarnate JESUS was being overthrown in his mind, "it can not be said," his historian assures us, "that he attempted any systematic study of Christian evidences" [p. 367]. He was letting an enemy cut the embankments, and he takes no measure of defence against the intruding flood.

Here is a psychological feature not unusual, in dealing with religious questions, and Mrs. Ward makes an admission that ought to be carefully noted, because it embraces a type of a large class of people who read infidel literature, and listen to skeptical lecturers, and absorb their views with little or no exercise of independent will and judgment in estimating them. Some run after such levelling teachers and retail at second-hand their old clothes sneers and objections, as if they were original discoveries and marks of mental superiority over the holders of the traditional Faith.

There are people who, as Napoleon said of Duroc, "will believe anything provided it is not in the Bible." The writer once conversed with a pronounced infidel who boasted of his wide range of reading in order to get at the truth of Christian dogma; and yet owned at last that he had never once examined the laws of Christian evidence, or a single book in defence of those facts and faiths held dear as life by millions of strong and intelligent minds. A friend once asked a skeptic who said he had read every book and verse in the Bible, "Have you read the I Book of Hezekiah?" "Yes," was the prompt answer, "I have read both the I and II Books of Hezekiah." It proves that a habit of doubt is unfavorable to a fair examination of moral evidences.

There is a subtle magnetism which draws the human heart to deadly doubts and to the brink of moral precipices. There is a strange fascination in seeing a grand edifice in flames.

Christianity demands investigation of her claims, and has trained this age in mental freedom; only let there be

fairness and an even balance in adjusting these questions. But the standard of criticism accepted by Mrs. Ward and proposed to Elsmere—viz., that the Bible is to be criticised and judged as any other book, history, poetry, or philosophy—should have been met by an Oxford man though young, by the sound literary distinction that the Scriptures are not as any other book. It is inconsistent with the standards of these critics themselves,—Grey, Langham, and Wendover. The Bible never has been as any other book. Its ideas and claims are peculiarly its own. Poetry itself is often deeper than science. Do critics judge of it by the laws of chemistry?

The belief in miracles does not interfere with the formation of the scientific or philosophic mind. Elsmere might have answered that a miracle, instead of denying, answers the general law. Who was a firmer believer in miracles than Newton? The moral ideal may exist apart from the miracle, but CHRIST's self-assertion of His divinity He proved by miracles.

Mrs. Ward has done a good thing in behalf of the principles of investigation and of justice to the historic groundwork of Christianity, by thus illustrating this defective judgment and faulty method which destroys Elsmere's faith.

She even makes that arch-skeptic Wendover himself catch a glimpse of the deeper truth. When the weak young minister's faith is shipwrecked, his loyal Christian wife's heart nearly broken,—when the old Squire's eventide has come, and he is taking a review of life's gains and losses, he begins to distrust those weavers of intellectual cobwebs where he has spent so many years in study. Their philosophy does not satisfy. A new doubt,—a doubt of human criticism perhaps, begins to break like a faint twilight above his metaphysical fog-banks. "‘The Germans,’ he said, putting back a book into the shelves with a new accent of distaste and weariness, ‘are beginning to founder in the sea of their own learning. Sometimes I think I will read no more German. It is a nation of learned fools, none of whom can see an inch beyond his own professorial nose’" [p. 571].

But no less unhappy phase is that in which Elsmere, after he has rejected CHRIST as GOD, struggles to make himself and message intelligible and consistent with his new East End

enterprise. It is the most astonishing thing in the book in the way of apologetics. He goes to simple, ignorant men and women,—to socialists, Comtists, etc., with a mere *human* CHRIST. Mrs. Ward makes him do the best that can be done to substitute a man in the place of GOD, presenting the claims of CHRIST upon the world, while cutting the nerve of any true reverence by denial of His title of JESUS.

Here is a man who once had a plain and logical message to the peasantry of a country parish, now soaring in magnificent generalities, talking to men of some far distant "Eternal Goodness, an Eternal Mind of which nature and man are the only revelation" [page 556]. The name of CHRIST is linked with those of Buddha and Mohammed. In all that Elgood Street harangue is no voice of the DIVINE, no one speaking to men with authority, no actual resurrection, no angel rolling away the stone of the Sepulchre and from human despair,—but what? What does Mrs. Ward propose through Elsmere to hold out to needy, suffering, longing humanity? How is man to be lifted from his dead past to better things,—roused to high aim and noble endeavor? What helper is he to seek? Why, he is told to do it himself—"by the constant and passionate memory of those great ones of the earth who have spoken to him most audibly of GOD and of Eternal Hope" [page 561]. One can not but wonder at the "passionate memory of great ones" who speak "most audibly" to London bargemen, maltster's apprentices, and rabid anarchists! Elsmere's leap for the stars and sticking in the mud is enough to merit his speedy exit which the author prepares for him, before the new-fangled "Brotherhood" is more than born. Mrs. Ward names it after CHRIST, on the vague custom of the day in which Christianity is everything and everything Christianity. With her, as with some others, the very meaning of religion is changed. Doctrine is to be set aside, and only ethics regarded. In the words of Mrs. Ward's teacher and relation, Matthew Arnold, religion is only "morality touched by emotion." But we are not told by our new philosophers who it is that touches the *emotion*; or how there can be a basis for ethics without a doctrine, fruit with-

out trees, or trees without roots drawing their wondrous powers from the mystic laboratory beneath.

The weakness of this position of Elsmere is in confounding Christianity with a mere system of morals. Christianity, in that true sense recognised by consent of ages, is faith in a series of historical facts which underlie its whole moral system. The central fact of all is that of a Divine Being, CHRIST, a Person of the Godhead, coming down into the circle of our humanity and uniting it unto Himself, and so maintaining a conscious communion through instituted sacraments, continually imparting a new and regenerate life to men. This is no mere influence abstracted from the simplicity of our LORD's teachings. It is His own statement. And the difficulty in the way of Elsmere's effort to accommodate his humanitarianism to the facts of the Gospel, is the perpetual self-assertion of CHRIST to be "one with the FATHER" in substance and nature. This self-revealing was not casual or accidental, as we get at one another's real characters; it was *deliberate*. He puts forward His Divinity. He places Himself between earth and Heaven and claims worship as GOD. The Jews did not misunderstand His words, when they accused Him of blasphemy for making Himself GOD, and He did not correct their impression or deny the claim. He claimed Almighty power. Can a mere man be omnipotent? He made reception of Him and His word the condition of salvation. Can a man of His mere manhood do that? Could a *man*, asserting those claims which only belong to GOD, be the ideal of human goodness and holiness? What opinion are we to form of His character if He were only man? Catherine Elsmere reveals the heart of the whole question in the inevitable alternative which she presents to her husband: "Either GOD, or an impostor" [page 407]. Elsmere thinks to redeem hard, brutal, intemperate, and profane men by the word-pictures he can draw of one great man only in a list of historic men. "How can that help them?" pleads Catherine. "Your historical CHRIST, Robert, will never win souls. If He was GOD, every word you speak will insult Him. If He were man, He was not a good man."

After all, these ringing words give the logical setting of the case. Elsmere, standing by the empty throne of CHRIST,

holds up before men a mangled Gospel which denies the raising of Lazarus and even of CHRIST Himself; telling them it is not true to him in a historical sense, but is a kind of emotional, sentimental resurrection and life to men! Then again, common-sense Catherine punctures this bubble: "If the Gospels are not true in fact as history, as reality, I can not see how they are true at all, or of any value" [p. 455].

Gibbon's pretense of respect for Christianity, while *seeking* at every step to discredit it, won no favor, and cast a doubt upon his candor as a historian. But how much more deserving of respect is any conduct that pays a hollow courtesy of rhetorical eulogium to CHRIST while casting His crown to the ground? There was once a professed Disciple who kissed Him only to betray. It is always more manly to wear one's true colors; to substitute, as Emerson did, the Pantheism of the Vedas and Hegel for the received Revelation of CHRIST.

Mrs. Ward will not let her hero fall into mere Unitarianism, which she says is "perhaps the most illogical creed that exists, and never the creed of the poor." But the distinction she does not make between that patch-work of negations and Elsmere's rejection of the supernatural in religion. A debased coin, whether done at the national mint that issues, or whether imported, destroys confidence by ruining all value. What would call itself "Liberal Christianity," which seeks to liberalise GOD'S truth by cutting out all that gives the Gospel authority, consistency, and vitality, ruins its own cause. How can a man be a Christian who denies what CHRIST asserts and claims for Himself?

Mrs. Ward makes Elsmere seem shocked by the circulation of a "Comic Life of CHRIST" in the Elgood Street Club; but how much better is his own serious travesty of that Person and His Life, bracketing the name of CHRIST with a series of Pagan "good and great ones of earth"?

The author of this fiction could not suppose her readers in England to be ignorant of the fact that no such Utopia as that ascribed to Elsmere's "Brotherhood of CHRIST" exists in London. On the contrary, it is the national Church that is to-day going down into those moral abysses of the

East End, with practical methods of improvement for the bodies and souls of men. In ten years that Church has built two hundred new places of worship in London; and there is an East End Church Fund which aims to supply a clergyman to every 2000 people there. Christian women are being trained in the various details of parish work, such as nursing, and Sunday-school teaching. There are parish clubs, soup-kitchens, night schools, mothers' meetings, etc. According to the *Year Book* of 1882, the Thames Church Mission was ministering to the vast fluctuating population of the Thames, seamen, bargemen, fisherman, etc. Services are held on all sorts of vessels; a reading-room is kept supplied, more than 28,000 visits were made to vessels, and nearly 3000 services were held.

And all this is being done, not in the name of good and great *men*, not out of love to the memory of Socrates or Marcus Aurelius, not by "morality touched by emotion." It is not merely a philanthropic movement, nor yet a mere sense of pity for men, or fear for their future, prompts all this missionary spirit. It has its springs in the faith and love of JESUS, the LORD, of Him who was supernaturally born and sent into the world. The inspiration of that action is in the profound conviction that JESUS is the Saviour of the bodies and souls of men; that ignorance of Him and of the Father in Heaven is a misfortune that blights men's lives.

All of this precious offering of money, labor, peril is not made to the man-christ of Robert Elsmere, but to the CHRIST of GOD, the INCARNATE, ETERNAL SON. Only that anchor holds. When any man, or any "Brotherhood" of men, leave out that element of zeal and devotion, efforts of the nature above mentioned are morally impossible, or are spasmodic, intermittent, withering away and leaving only a dry channel like a stream whose fountain is choked or turned aside. *Ex nihilo nihil fit.*

W. H. VAN ANTWERP.

Elizabethan Literature.

A History of Elizabethan Literature. By GEORGE SAINTSBURY. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

THE Publishers announce a *History of English Literature* in preparation to be "divided into four main periods, each of which is entrusted to a writer who has made that period his particular study." These four divisions it appears are: I. Early; II. Elizabethan; III. Eighteenth Century, and IV. Modern.

The division is a novel, but we think, a logical one. What precise demarking lines are to be decided upon we are of course unaware (especially what will be drawn between "Eighteenth Century" and "Modern"), but the limits of the present volume command our unbounded respect.

Mr. Saintsbury has selected for his first step into Elizabethan English Literature, the curious old collection known (from its publisher's name) as Tottel's Miscellany: but more properly cited by its title, which ran thus: *Songs and Sonnets, written by the Right Honorable Lord Henry Howard, Late Earl of Surrey, and others*: printed in 1557. This was the "Book of Songs and Sonnets," which Slender, in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, regretted not having put into his pocket when he left Gloucestershire for Windsor, on that visit which was to make or mar him matrimonially with sweet Anne Page. "I had rather than forty shillings I had my book of songs and sonnets with me," he simpered when, in *solitude à deux* with Mistress Anne, he found his tongue refusing its office. It is manifestly impossible to divine exactly what particular song or sonnet Master Slender would have read to Anne upon that occasion, but (to pass from courting to churchyards) the grave digger in *Hamlet* (written, or at least printed, the year after *The Merry Wives*) hums snatches of one of this collection, easily identified as that by Lord Vaux, entitled *The Aged Lover Renounceth Love*. And, perhaps, these two instances of Shakespeare's draft upon the Tottel collection better bring us to the characteristic of the Elizabethan age from its literary standpoint than a more didactic preamble. The Elizabethan age was, all of a sudden, an age of letters. Not only courtiers

but commoners began to make memoranda on their tablets, and go home to string together into rhymes or comedies the ideas they absorbed therefrom. The gallants began to carry books in their pockets. The very clowns picked up and lodged in memory their contents.

As the people read and called for more, so there were authors and poets to supply the demand. The limited presses were supplemented by the theatres, and both were worked to the utmost. Poetry, the Drama, Law, Medicine, Travel, Biography, sprang—indeed it would be hard to say what form of literature did not spring—into fulness of treatment of reception in that wonderful spontaneous Renaissance. It is needless to add here to the familiar and always enthusiastic eulogium which mention of the Elizabethan era in letters at once calls forth. But it must never be forgotten that, so far as we trace it, the impulse to write was stimulated by the impulse of the people to receive, and not the reverse. The making of books creates, no doubt, the appetite to read. But here at the real dawn of English literature, the demand brought the supply, and not the supply the demand. And Shakespeare very fairly states it (as indeed he very fairly states almost everything) by the use of Tottel's Miscellany as above described.

Of course any treatment of the Elizabethan Literature falls persistently into discussion of Dramatic Literature, and Mr. Saintsbury's effort at once challenges comparison with Mr. Ward's magnificent *History of English Dramatic Literature*. Such a comparison must always be a risky one to the new comer. But we must say Mr. Saintsbury stands up to it well. Mr. Ward's work is in two splendid volumes each of six hundred octavo pages. Mr. Saintsbury's modest duodecimo of scarcely four hundred pages makes a lesser exhibit. But these pages are compact and meaty, and waste little time in mere citation. Briefly, the work is a valuable and conscientious one. It covers its field, closing it with a score of fairly forgotten names; such as Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Howell Feltham—not to mention Robert Burton, Thomas Fuller and Isaak Walton, their contemporaries: but it omits none, large or small, forgotten or remembered, anywhere.

It would be supererogative to follow either Mr. Saintsbury's plan or his catalogue in so familiar a preserve. But we may say that the Messrs. Macmillan's History of English Literature will be well done if all its parts are done as well as is this.

Not having passed through Elizabethan Literature with this particular historian, perhaps we may atone for our loss by interviewing him as to his conclusions at the close of his journey (as we might compare notes with a friend who has more lately returned from beating paths we had ourselves beaten before him). Mr. Saintsbury, in concluding his admirable volume, avers, as his explanation of the Elizabethan impulse of which we have spoken, that it appears to him to have come largely from the commercial and political necessity which began to relegate Latin to the shades as a vehicle of whatever was to be written on paper. Of foreign languages, it was that of Italy, "which had touched the spring that let loose the poetry of Surrey and Wyatt. Italy was the chief resort of travelled Englishmen in the susceptible time of youth. Italy provided in Petrarch (Dante was much less read) and Boccaccio, in Ariosto and Tasso, an unexhaustible supply of moods, both in prose and verse. Spain was only less influential because Spanish literature was in a much less finished condition than Italian, and, perhaps, also because political causes made the following of Spaniards seem almost unpatriotic. . . . France and Germany were infinitely less influential. . . . Both were much nearer to England than Spain. . . . Yet in the great productions of our great period, the influence of Germany is only perceptible in some burlesque matter, . . . in the furnishing of a certain amount of supernatural subject-matter like the Faust legend. . . . French influence is a little greater, a few translations . . . a slight echo of Rabelais . . . some adopted songs and music and a translated prayer or two on the Senecan model." In other words, the Englishman was insular then, as he is to-day, and modelled his new growing literature, as much as he could, on the literature of those countries who would not pretend or endeavor to rival him in his shopkeeping and the mastery of the seas, with a true-born English suspicion of his nearest

neighbors always. With a very sensible remark Mr. Saintsbury concludes his capital volume. He says: "In reading other literatures a man may lose little by obeying the advice of those who tell him only to read the best things. In reading Elizabethan literature by obeying he can only disobey that advice, for the best things are everywhere."

Mr. Saintsbury does not heroically cut off from tradition. He still clings to the enumeration of our childhood, of the four great poets, Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton. But with better lights and clearer perspective we think this list might be revised. Chaucer was great only in his date and in the newness of his industry (we think here, *wonderful* would be a better term than *great*). Spenser seems only great in that he is never read, and that his *Faerie Queene* is very long, so long indeed that (as George Eliot says), "you see no reason why it should not go on forever, and as if nothing short of a dispensation of Providence would stop it." As between these two, Chaucer was undoubtedly the greater, for he is full of humor, and it may be doubted whether a poet, entirely devoid, as is Spenser, of either wit or humor can possibly be "great."

But even if this question be waived, there remains another, which will not down. Namely, can an author whom nobody reads be a great author? We think not. And this leaves us but two great poets, Shakespeare and Milton, with several good bidders for fourth place; but none, or next to none, for third. On the whole we incline to believe that the list closes with two so far, and that it will be for the twenty-second or twenty-third century to fill it up to a complete four.

APPLETON MORGAN.

Some Philosophers and Some Philosophies.

SOME really wise people have a supreme genius for extracting trouble from trifles and for anointing themselves with the product. At least so it seemed to us on hearing one of our leading Christian men exclaim: "How much more satisfactory the New Testament would be, if we knew as much of

CHRIST's early history as we do of Kant's, and Spinoza's, Comte's, Descartes'—or even Confucius'."

Ignoring the fact that Spinoza, Kant, and Comte are men of a comparatively recent date, let us briefly look at the outcome of the life-work, or real history, of each, as they stand in relation to that of CHRIST; for all that we can know of the good or evil of any influence is its effect upon the human race.

The only thing Spinoza has written worthy of notice is his *Ethics*, which embody the essential matter of his other writings, and this *Ethics* is a reflection of an original Jewish mind, which became by perversion of a liberal education prejudiced against its nation's system of theology, rejected Christianity, and fell into a sort of Pantheism as its refuge. No one can read him carefully and deny that his was a prejudiced mind, whose work is a strange admixture of linguistic contradiction and perversion, and calculated to mislead a mind seeking the light. GOD with Spinoza means nature; freedom means necessity, and immortality, the natural capacity of the creature to go back into nature when what is called death comes. He ignores that nature is the material expression of GOD's conception of the actual and beautiful. That freedom is personal right to do as one will, with the soul in harmony with GOD, and its environment as a resultant of such harmony, and that death is *not* the resolution of the "ego" into a peony or a frog, but is, instead, the release of the spirit to be with GOD, which is far better.

He fails to consider that the worshipful feeling is an intuitive as well as an instructive one. That its repression is unnatural and dwarfing, and that the consequences of such repressions, in their ultimate tendency, are to moral and spiritual degradation. For, if man is by nature skeptical and by reason investigating, he should be by faith believing.

The name of Spinoza's god is "Substantiality," and that substantiality is nature, and oh! the pitilessness of nature when compared with "the mother love of GOD," as Theodore Parker was wont to express our GOD's love. I wonder if it never occurred to Spinoza how narrow, how circumscribed would be our development if it were in the line of the *material* only. He nowhere tells us that Spirit is supreme, and

that supreme development carries with it the necessity of supreme experience. No, this is one of the high planes of soul comfort, reached after climbing the rough mountain-side of doubt and uncertainty and sorrow with "The Man of Sorrows." What is the ultimate fact of his material development? Does it involve eternity of substance in conscious relationship with spiritual environment? The very term "material" prevents the adoption of that idea. No, view it as one may, the spiritual alone can claim space as its home, eternity as its age, and the great "I AM" as its author.

Spinoza would have us believe that death is a vacation in which our faculties and spirit will lie themselves down for a siesta of cycles. Oh, no, rather is it the spirit's birthday, ushering us into inconceivable, grand, and magnificent spiritual possibilities—the graduation day in which all that is material is left behind, and all that is spiritual goes before and reaches out to the eternity of beauty. There our environment will suffer change, but our identity will remain the same. But Spinoza is not the first who has railed at the GOD of the Universe; he will not be the *last*, but we want him—or all of them—to offer a *better*.

Let us look for a moment at the life-work or real history of Kant. What has he done for the elevation of the human race? *Nothing*. True, he rooted out numerous methods of philosophic speculation—up to his time. Certainly he introduced more of the lucidity of argument and perspicacity of expression than had been employed by his predecessors or contemporaries. His whole system, however, is embodied in the word "Transcendentalism," and to obtain a thorough knowledge of his system of philosophic speculation is to obtain a very correct appreciation of the man, particularly his three special treatises, which, to apprehend fully one should read, study, and digest: his *Critique of Pure Reason*; *Critique of Practical Reason*, and his *Critique of the Power of Judgment*. This will give one an idea of his transcendental philosophy. Then read his *Critique of Pure Religion*, and his applications (in sundry volumes) to science and kindred topics, and his *Anthropology*. And when you have done all this, and the years have made the crow's-feet come into your countenance,

as they have into ours, and the winters have frosted your hair, and your eyes behold the sunsets in a misty, blurred-like glory, and the Golden Shore shows glimpses of its beauty, you will still be bothered with Kant and Spinoza, aye, though you be an hundred years old. Much like the Dutchman who gave eighty-five years to the study of the Dative Case, and who died regretting that he did not educate his stomach to one meal a day in order to gain time for his favorite work.

And what are the religions of Confucius, Buddha, Zoroaster, etc., but intellectual attempts at satisfying the cravings for the "rest and peace that passeth understanding." They were, and are, religions of the head, intellectual efforts toward man's moral elevation; but it was destined for the CHRIST of Calvary to bring the religion of the heart which has brought peace and rest to untold millions of the race. And that religion of the heart (blessed be CHRIST!) has sanctified the religion of the head, and made mind the servant of the morals. It has raised man from savagery to civilisation; has raised woman from slavery to dominion with man; has built hospitals for the sick, asylums for the weary and oppressed; retreats for the fallen, homes for the homeless, and graves for the graveless. This is what the practical Christianity of CHRIST has done and is doing; and this Christianity will as surely rule the entire earth as the "LORD GOD reigneth." Just as soon as Christians discover and appreciate that "personal contact for personal worth," just that soon will this grand old earth join in the chorus of her children on the other side, and "CROWN HIM LORD OF ALL."

No, we do not recommend Spinoza, Kant, Comte, etc., for a daily diet. Life is too full of requirements; too busy with grand, living, positive positions, opportunities, and privileges for one to bury himself in the investigation of these cold and blank negations that rise over the intellect, the feeling, and the soul, like miasm from a marsh near a beautiful landscape.

True, they are men of *genius*; but let genius sit regnant on the throne of man's intellect; let his achievements be such as to compel the praise and worship of the world; let his position, socially and intellectually, be that which the most critical and exacting could desire—if his be the cold precision

of intellectuality alone, and not any of the warm outpourings of an earnest, loving heart like CHRIST'S, would we be satisfied with such a possession only, when we stand in the Courts of Eternity, alone with our character (which is the essential "Ego"), alone with our GOD? No, we will not need it there, hence we do not need it here. The world wants feeling, not philosophy. At least, not that hair-splitting, wink-measuring, simile-heaving style of philosophy that would offer a stone with an argument and eternal speculation in place of the true bread.

Do not understand us as belittling any study that develops the intellect. We do but consider the pursuit of speculation and many philosophic vagaries as profitless as a *belief*.

If one *must* read philosophy, read Sir William Hamilton, Dugald Stewart, Alexander, Upham, and Porter, and you will have good, safe guides, and as intellectual as the ablest. If you wish to breathe the air that has swept along the vales of Paradise; if you want to see the petty little deity of Agnosticism slain and buried by words ringing their rich music as struck by a master-hand, read *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, by Dr. Drummond, and you will hear the sound of the dominant note of law as it rolls through systems spiritual and natural. It begins where Balfour and Tait leave off in their remarkable work, *The Unseen Universe*, and lifts the reader to Pisgah heights, from whence we exclaim, Oh, the grandeur of individualism, when such individualism is filled with appreciations of moral and intellectual responsibility.

But casting *all* these aside, when you are going through your night-watchings of sufferings and trial alone, and gathering low and around and ahead of you are clouds of trouble, it is the comforting messages of JESUS that assure you these clouds carry in their bosom necessary discipline; that the Hand that upholds the storm upholds the traveller, until above the tempest's roar you hear the Father's voice, "Be still and know that I am GOD."

In conclusion, then, on that other side this early history of any one will matter little—there we will, with all spirits, understand the sources and courses of this life's mysteries and wonders, and in those grander and richer environments

the present perplexities will be remembered only as a figure in a dream or a dimly thought-of character in a far-away experience.

MURIEL ROUSSEAU.

A Manual of the Book of Common Prayer.

A Manual of the Book of Common Prayer. By the Rev. CHARLES HOLE, B.A., Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History at King's College, London. New York: Thomas Whitaker.

THE Book of Common Prayer, like the English Bible—like the Plays of Shakespeare—has created a rich vein of literature ancillary to itself as a commentary to a text. There has been growing up around the Service Book a wealth of liturgical scholarship critically and devotionally exegetical of its deposit of Offices and Formularies. The Catholic Revival in restoring the long-lapsed authority of the Prayer Book, as being the living and oracular voice of the Church, has had a strong tendency to develop the science of liturgiology in general and, furthermore, to promote the study of the history of Anglican Offices in the light of historical research. The minds of Churchmen have been stimulated within the past fifty years—beyond all precedent since the great Caroline era—to get at the true *rationale* of the Common Prayer. Such an historical spirit and critical method of analysis and annotation has naturally produced a school of learned ritualists, who have elaborately constructed upon the lines first worked out by their precursors in different epochs of the Church since the Primacy of Laud. The large scope and exhaustive learning of works like Dean Comber's, Mant's, and Blunt's, tend, however, to make the research of the liturgist practically inaccessible to the average lay-mind. To condense and simplify, therefore, the mass of *data* contained in the large standard Treatises, has been the design of manuals like Bishop Barry's *Teachers' Prayer Book* and the little but copious and admirable *Commentary* published by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. To this class of popular works be-

longs, generally speaking, the volume entitled *A Manual of the Book of Common Prayer*, recently issued in the series of the *Theological Educator*. Though it is stated in the Preface that the work is primarily intended for Candidates for Holy Orders, yet it is well suited in form for more general use. The *Manual* has indeed a responsible mission to fulfill as a text-book for the instruction of Seminarians. Its design, therefore, properly subjects it to the test of sharp criticism. In some respects the work is one of intrinsic merit. It contains no inconsiderable amount of liturgical learning in general, and as to the sources of Anglican Devotions, and in the arrangement of its subject-matter, is admirably systematic and concise. But as carrying weight of authority in treatment of the principles underlying and giving character to the Prayer Book, the *Manual* is not, in our judgment, entitled to praise. We take exception to the position maintained on certain fundamental points, and also to some loosely phrased statements, as tending to misinform or mislead the minds of those for whom the work is more especially designed.

In the Chapter on the Ordination Service the student is treated to an entirely novel theory of the Ordinal. The author maintains with all apparent seriousness that the English Church since the Reformation recognises only the preaching and absolving functions as being inherent in the Priesthood. The objection immediately arises that such a view as this fails *in toto* to explain why the Ordinal embodies in its very warp and woof the term Priest. Such term distinctively implies a function radically different from those of preaching and absolving. It is a shallow and latitudinarian construction of the Office to lose sight of the intention therein of the Church to confer the highest and most solemn function which can be exercised in Holy Orders. We have every reason to believe that the term Priest was retained in the Service Book, as revised by the English Reformers, not, as it were, accidentally, but advisedly. At the period of the Reformation the official and popular name of the Minister next above the Order of Deacons was perfectly well understood in the old technical sense. It can be shown by sufficient proof that even the Edwardine divines held, or intended to hold, the doctrine of the Eucharistic Mys-

tery as taught by the Primitive Church. Such doctrine necessarily involves the correlative ideas and terms of Sacrifice, Priest and Altar. In the language of the Ecumenical Council of Nicea, the distinctive function of the Priest is to "*offer the body of CHRIST.*" The English Church reformed herself—under the Tudors as well as the Caroline era—on Primitive and old Catholic lines. Bishop Ridley, perhaps the most commanding mind among the active Edwardine divines, distinctly affirmed, just prior to his tragic death, that he himself held the belief that the Priest as Celebrant doth offer CHRIST in a Mystery. The doctrine of the Commemorative Sacrifice of the Blessed Eucharist is indubitably Anglican doctrine. The English Reformers, as a body, never lost their grasp on that sacred truth of our holy Religion. The Ordinal is to be construed according to the proportion of the whole Faith. It is an emasculated office without the sacerdotal idea in its integrity; like the play of Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. We need only cite Procter to sustain the statement that the Ordinal is, in its general arrangement, the same as the mediæval Pontifical. In Chapter VI the author makes an implied assertion which is very loosely substantiated. He seems to assume, by a quotation from Froude, that we are indebted to Henry VIII, not Cranmer, for the Litany in its English form and dress. No liturgist is cited in support of such a surprising statement. We are not inclined to accept Mr. Froude as a sufficiently competent authority in the matter. His fascinating pen-portraiture of Julius Cæsar may be entirely free from exaggeration; his picture of Roman society in the degenerate days of the Republic may be historically true; but in writing up the English Reformation he is egregiously self-opinionated and an untrustworthy guide. His oblique view of Anglicanism in general, and, moreover, his apotheosis of Henry Tudor—in all probability the most flagitious Sovereign in English history—effectually disqualify Mr. Froude to rank as an authoritative Church historian. His statement cannot reasonably be set up against the current of opinion among commentators. It seems to be a settled fact that Archbishop Cranmer is justly entitled to the honor of having put the Litany into the vernacular tongue. On page 40 we are fur-

ther obliged to disagree with our author. Statements are made to the effect that the Second Book of Edward VI was the legitimate outgrowth of the Reform movement; that the Prayer Book of 1549 marked a merely transitional stage in the progress of the English Reformation; that the Revision of 1552 indicated an essential departure on the part of the Edwardine divines from their position in 1549. Such a view as this is demonstrably untenable, because unhistorical. It is a purely gratuitous assumption. Evidence amounting to reasonable proof can be adduced to show that the clerical and lay constituency at large were not disposed to drift away from the Catholic basis maintained by the Windsor Revisers. The Second Book was the symbol of an influence Erastian and sectarian, and logically subversive of the very first principles of the English Reformation. The First Prayer Book, on the contrary, was distinctively Anglican. It satisfied both the more radical and the more conservative Churchmen. It was, in general, approved by Cranmer and Ridley, and by Gardiner and Bonner. Again: On page 58 we dissent from the author's view as to the effect and force upon the English Church of the late Ritual decisions of the Privy Council. The statement is made that the Purchas judgment is now the law as regards the proper construction of the Ornaments Rubric. This position is clearly objectionable, because it involves an Erastian theory of Church and State. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is not entitled to recognition as an ecclesiastical Tribunal by the English Church, on the good ground that it is not an ecclesiastical court within the purview of the Constitution. It is a purely secular Judicatory. The Church—in the language of Mr. Gladstone—knows nothing of such a court. It has no jurisdiction of spiritual causes, either under the Common law or by Statutory legislation at the abolition of the Papal jurisdiction. The Crown is invested with authority to exercise what Canonists call corrective jurisdiction over the Spirituality only through a tribunal composed of ecclesiastical judges. The Constitutional principle is that secular judges shall have cognisance of temporal causes, and ecclesiastical judges cognisance of spiritual causes. Such is the law laid down by all the most learned authorities from the Elizabethan to the Victorian era.

It is the opinion held by such distinguished law-writers as Sir Edward Coke and Mr. Justice Blackstone. So that upon principle and authority the plea of jurisdiction very properly lies against a court organised as is the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. As a matter of fact, this Tribunal only accidentally succeeded to the old Court of Delegates in assuming cognisance of spiritual causes. Such was not the originally intended province of the Judicial Committee, as was stated by Lord Brougham. But even admitting for the sake of argument the full constitutionality of the Court in adjudicating points of ecclesiastical doctrine and ceremonial, still its decisions in laying down the law of Anglican ritual are of such a character as reasonably to impair the authority of the tribunal and prejudice before the public mind its standing for acumen and learning. We venture to say that no other court known to juridical annals ever rendered judgments of such an extraordinary character; extraordinary in point of self-contradiction and dense ignorance of the subject-matter thereof. In *Martin vs. Mackonochie* the Honorable Court contradicted itself in *Liddell vs. Westerton*. Again in *Hebbert vs. Purchas* the judges denied what they had ruled but three years before in *Martin vs. Mackonochie*. In the first decision, handed down in 1857, the Privy Judges informed the Church that from 1552 to 1662 there was no Prayer of Consecration in the Eucharistic Office. Such a stupid blunder is a fair specimen of the *dicta*, delivered by the Judicial Committee in the series of Ritual cases from *Liddell vs. Westerton* to the Ridsdale judgment. Eminent jurists have left on record their opinion of at least two of the decisions of the Privy Judges. Sir John Taylor Coleridge was free to style the Purchas judgment "a miscarriage of justice." Chief Baron Kelly stigmatised the Ridsdale judgment as one "based upon policy, not law," and that it was "iniquitous." So much for the practical competency of the Judicial Committee to sit as a final court of appeal in spiritual causes. And yet our author would have young men, who are studying for Holy Orders in the English Church, remember that the decisions of said tribunal have settled for the Church the legitimate construction of the Ornaments Rubric. On page 255, among the "Examination Questions,"

there is an improper construction of a sentence, which error very likely escaped the notice of the author. The question is asked, "What alteration in 1662 forbade the reading of the absolution to deacons?" Of course, the position of the words "to deacons" should be between the words "forbade" and "the reading." We might further adversely criticise the *Manual*, but perhaps the principal points open to objection have been herein noticed. The work has indeed merit as a digest, but it would prove a far more valuable contribution to our liturgical literature could it be safely consulted as an authority upon all points treated therein.

JOHN G. HALL, JR.

The Deluge in the Izdubar Epic and in the Old Testament.

I. THE ORIGIN AND DATE OF THE EPIC.

"THE Pen is mightier than the Sword." When once the clash of arms had died away in that profound silence which was to brood for centuries over the mounds of an almost forgotten people, no one dreamed that the great civilisation of Assyria would step forth again into the light of day and call the world to give ear to what her pen had written. Sword and sceptre, soldier and king found a grave in that oblivion which could hold all save what her pen had immortalised. So Assyria lives for us in her books, and the greatest debt we owe her greatest monarch Asshurbanipal is due to him as having been a patron of letters. This "Grand Monarque," who, under the name Sardanapalus had become known to the Greeks as the type of Oriental magnificence and luxury, reigned at Nineveh from 668 to 626 B.C., the period of the later kings of Judah. He was the grandson of the Biblical Sennacherib, 705-681 B.C. [cf. Isaiah xxxvi.], and the son of Esarhaddon, 681-668 B.C. [cf. 2 Kings xix., 37; Isaiah xxxvii. 38].

Asshurbanipal exceeded Sennacherib and Esarhaddon both in the extent of his conquests and the culture of his court.

At Nineveh there existed something of a library, not indeed of books as we reckon them, but of carefully prepared tablets of baked clay, on which was inscribed much of the lore of the primitive inhabitants of the Tigris-Euphrates valley. Coming to the throne at a time when the empire had reached its zenith of political glory, and being a man of literary proclivities, Assurbanipal, like the Ptolemies and Attali of later times, became a great patron of learning and an enthusiastic collector of ancient documents. He dispatched his scribes with orders to ransack the record-chambers of all the oldest cities of the land. Babylon, Akkad, Ur, Erech, and other towns equally venerable were all called upon to spread their literary treasures before these diligent copyists, who transcribed them on new tablets, editing them by translating obscure and archaic words and repairing the *lacunæ* produced by decay and accident. The work was done with care and accuracy, even the sources whence the several legends had been derived were noted in the transcription, and when variant versions of the same legend were found, as was the case with the Deluge story, these different editions were copied, so that duplicates and even triplicates of some of the records were produced. The literary treasures thus collected were carefully arranged on the shelves of the royal library, to the delight no doubt of the savants of Nineveh. Assurbanipal dwells lovingly on this work of his. He tells us that "Nebo (the god of literature) and Tashmit (his wife) made his ears broad and enlightened his eyes so as to see the engraved characters of the tablets, whereof none of the kings who had gone before had seen the text, even the wisdom of Nebo, all the existing literature of the library," so that he had "written, engraved, and explained it on tablets, and placed it within his palace for the inspection of his subjects."

Assurbanipal was almost the last of the great and prosperous kings of Nineveh; a few years elapsed and the city was taken by the Medes and Babylonians [*circa* 625], and the great palace of Kouyunjik was burned. But the makers of the books had placed upon them the very best possible insurance against fire in the clay which they used in their composition. Fractured indeed, but otherwise uninjured, amid

the ruins of temples and palaces, they await the excavator's spade and the translator's genius to tell their story. An English scholar says:

It is a strange thing to examine for the first time one of the clay tablets of the old Assyrian library. Usually it has been more or less broken by the catastrophe of that terrible day when Nineveh was captured by its enemies, and the palace and library burned and destroyed together. But whether it is a fragment or a complete tablet, it is impossible not to handle it reverently when cleansing it from the dirt with which its long sojourn in the earth has encrusted it, and spelling out its words for the first time for more than two thousand years. When last the characters upon it were read, it was in the days when Assyria was still a name of terror, and the destruction that God's prophets had predicted was still to come. When its last reader laid it aside, Judah had not as yet undergone the chastisement of the Babylonian exile, the Old Testament was an uncompleted volume, the Kingdom of the Messiah a promise of the distant future.

The subjects treated in these clay volumes we find were remarkably varied, considering how far back they put us in the world's history. There are treatises on Astronomy and Astrology, Grammar and Lexicography, Geography and History, Mathematics and Natural Science, Laws and Institutions, Poetry and Religious Lore. But these treatises were not original with the Assyrians or Babylonians. The great cities from which they were derived as copies were not primevally Assyrian or Babylonian cities, but were built by a people of another race. A thick stratum of Turanian civilisation underlay the Semitism of Western Asia. It was from the Akkadians that the Semites borrowed. Their cuneiform mode of writing, their civilisation, their theology, art, and science were all derived from the Akkadians. Another name by which this ancient people has been called is the Shumero-Akkadians; this is due to the fact that their language is presented to us in two different dialects, the true Akkadians, that is the dialect of Akkad or North Babylonia, and the Shumerian, that of Shumer (Hebr. Shinar) or South Babylonia.

As to the date of the founding of the first Akkadian library we have no information. However, we know that that of

Erech was among the oldest in Chaldea. It was here that Asshurbanipal's scribes found the Izdubar Epic, of which they made several copies for the library at Nineveh.

When we consider the important place the worship of the Sun-god held in ancient Babylonia, we appreciate how natural it was that a characteristic so marked should find expression in a rich mythology and the growth of an epic cycle. The Epic which thus sprung into being is composed of twelve cantos, the trials of the solar hero Izdubar being the thread running through the several poems. The selection and arrangement of the originally independent legends which go to make it up were determined by astronomical reasons. Each story corresponds to an appropriate sign of the zodiac and to a month of the Akkadian year. The twelve tablets of the Epic give the twelve labors or adventures through which the hero moves exactly like the twelve labors of that Grecized Izdubar, Herakles, the mythological conception of whom the Greeks got from Mesopotamia "through the fostering hands of Phœnicia and her colonies." For as Prof. A. H. Sayce has said [*Babylonian Literature*, p. 28], "the story of Herakles is but the repetition of the older story of Izdubar. Eabani, the confidant and adviser of the Chaldean hero, is the centaur Kheiron, the instructor of Herakles; for Kheiron was the son of Kronos, and Kronos, we are told, was the Babylonian Ea, the 'creator' of Ea-bani. The lion that Izdubar slew is the lion of Nemea: the winged bull that Anu made to avenge the slight of his daughter Ishtar is the bull of Krete; the tyrant Humbaba slain by Izdubar is the tyrant Geryon; the gems borne by the trees of the forest, beyond 'the gateway of the sun', are the apples of the Hesperides; and the deadly sickness of Izdubar himself is but the fever caused by the poisonous tunic of Nessus."

The eyes of the Akkadians seem ever to have been bent starwards; astronomy and astrology formed a factor in their daily life. The Babylonians, in these as in other branches, were but their pupils. The II. Isaiah in his "taunt-song" on Babylon and her approaching fall [xlvi. 13], might well cry to the unhappy city, "Thou art wearied (or hast wearied thyself) with the multitude of thy astrological consultations; let

them, I pray, stand forth and save thee—the dividers of the heavens, the star-gazers, who make known at every new moon the things which shall come upon thee !” “Star-gazers” the Babylonians certainly were ; lofty *ziggurati*, or towers, crowned their every temple, where the royal astronomers had their observatories, from whence they sent their fortnightly reports to the palace. Yet all this the Babylonians had learned from the Akkadians. It was the Akkadians who were the first “dividers of the heavens” ; it was the Akkadians who, noticing how the Sun annually ploughed his way along the ecliptic or “furrow of heaven,” portioned his path into twelve sections, distinguishing each by its chief constellation. It was through the Akkadians that the zodiac first came into existence.

The knowledge of this fact concerning the calendar and zodiac helps us to fix the date of the *Izdubar* Epic. The calendar must of course have antedated any composition based upon it. On the other hand, the formation of the Epic cannot be put later than the existence of the Akkadian as a living language, which it ceased to be before the seventeenth century B. C. The poem must therefore have been given its present shape between these general limits : before 1700 B. C. and after the formation of the zodiac. We may even arrive at a more definite date than this. From about 2500 B. C. [2540 ?] onwards the precession, or acceleration, of the equinoxes caused Aries to be the asterism into which the Sun entered at spring-time ; previous to that date back to about 4700 B. C. [4698 ?] the year had begun with Taurus. Now our Epic opens with the sign of Aries ; it must therefore have been constructed subsequent to the date when Aries supplanted Taurus at the first sign, that is, after the year 2500 B. C. Our date limits then are 2500 and 1700 B. C. We cannot be far wrong in assigning the composition to about the year 2000 B. C., the approximate date of the exodus of the Abrahamidæ from Ur of the Chaldees.

II. THE CONTENTS OF THE EPIC.

That the reason why the Deluge story was introduced into the *Izdubar* Epic may be understood, it will be profitable to take a hasty view of the events recorded in the tablets which precede it.

The FIRST TABLET of the Epic and the top part of the Second are unfortunately missing; we thus have nothing of the opening of the poem, which might have yielded rich historical material.

The SECOND TABLET—the small portion we have of it—relates to the sufferings of the city of Erech under the tyrannous rule of Elamitic conquerors. The divine Dummuzi or Tammuz (Adonis) had been the ruler over this most ancient city, and after his tragic death his wife Ishtar (Astarte) had been queen. The Elamite, however, proved too powerful for her; as the cuneiform characters express it, she was not able “to hold up her head against the enemy.” There was dwelling at the time in Erech Izdubar, far-famed as a Nimrod, a mighty hunter; and there seems to be no doubt now that Izdubar really was the Biblical Nimrod the son of Kush, begotten by Ham, mentioned in Genesis x., 8-12: “Kush begat Nimrod. He began to be a mighty hunter in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before Jehovah. Therefore the saying is ‘Like Nimrod—a mighty hunter before Jehovah.’ And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, Erech, Akkad, and Kalneh, in the land of Shinar (*i.e.*, Shumer or South Babylonia). From this land he went forth into Assyria, and founded Nineveh, Rehoboth-ir, Kelah, and Resen which lies between Nineveh and Kelah.”

In Erech the sleeping Izdubar has a singular dream which troubles him. The stars drop from the celestial vault and strike upon his back, while a lion-clawed creature bends over him. He concludes that all this portends some fate to himself, and he assembles the savants and seers, but none of them can interpret his dream. In his perplexity the fame reaches him of a wise man named Ea-bani, *i.e.* “Ea (the god of the deep and of wisdom) was my creator.” This Eabani, far-famed for “his wisdom in all things and his knowledge of all that is either visible or concealed,” lives a hermit’s life in a wild remote place, where “he ate his food by night with the gazelles, he accompanied by day with the beasts of the field, in the living things of the water did his heart take pleasure.” This creature appears, from the representations on seals, etc., to have been a

kind of satyr, a man-bull; he is always represented with horns on his head, and with the feet and tail of a bull.

At first the Sun-god Shamash, the peculiar protector of the solar hero, attempts to persuade Eabani to visit Erech in order to interpret the hero's dream, but fails. Izdubar then sends his huntsman, Zaidu, to bring him to his court, but he returns with his object unaccomplished.

In the THIRD TABLET we have the account of a second expedition undertaken by Zaidu to fetch Eabani. By the direction of Izdubar he this time takes with him two fair damsels, Shamhatu and Harimtu, to seduce the wise man from his home in the rocks of the desert. Eabani sees the women who stand in the mouth of his den, and he comes out and speaks with Harimtu. She tells him of all the prowess of Izdubar, and tries to prevail upon him to come to behold for himself the exploits of Izdubar. "She spoke to him, and the wisdom of his heart fled and vanished before her words." He answers that he will do as they wish, but adds, "I shall take a lion to Erech—let him destroy him if he is able. He was reared in the wilderness and is of mighty strength." At the grand feast given in Erech in honor of Eabani's arrival, Izdubar kills the lion, whereupon Eabani becomes a worthy friend to him, aiding him by his counsel and advice, and assisting him in his labors by his strength. The covenant of eternal brotherhood which Izdubar and Eabani form gives this story of the Third Tablet a peculiar fitness under the third sign of the zodiac, that of Gemini.

The FOURTH TABLET is also in a fragmentary condition. We can only make out that Izdubar and his friend determine to extend their deeds of valor, to free their land from the yoke of the Elamite tyrant Humbaba, by putting an end to his life. Before they set out for the home of the latter in the forests of the cedars and cypresses, Izdubar sacrifices to the Sun-god for victory.

In the FIFTH TABLET, though it also is much broken, we are able to decipher the account of the hero's encounter with and victory over a huge lion, a fact which evidently determined the placing of the story under the zodiacal sign of Leo.

Reaching their destination, the two friends force their way

into the palace of Humbaba. They kill the tyrant and leave his carcass exposed to the beasts and birds of prey. Izdubar is then proclaimed king in Erech, and the land enters upon a new era of prosperity.

In the SIXTH TABLET, that of the month of the errand of Ishtar,* the hero is wooed by Ishtar, the Virgo of the zodiac. The courtship of the goddess, her promises to Izdubar of wealth, and servants, and pleasure, his scornful rejection of her offer, reminding her how her lovers Dummuzi and his predecessors had perished, are all dramatically related.

When Ishtar heard this

Ishtar was angry and ascended to heaven.

Then appeared Ishtar before the face of Anu her father, and

Before the face of Anatu her mother, and said :

‘ My father, Izdubar has insulted me ! ’

The portion of the tablet which contained the conversation between her and Anu is broken away, but enough remains to show that she eventually persuaded her father to punish Izdubar. Anu accordingly created a divine bull of monstrous size ; but without much result, for Izdubar and his friend succeeded in destroying the animal and dragging its mutilated carcass in triumph through the gates of Erech.

This insult to Ishtar did not long remain unpunished. Her mother, Anatu, seems to have felt herself especially aggrieved. She despatched a venomous gad-fly to sting Eabani and thus bring to an end the life of Izdubar's unfailing helper ; Izdubar himself she smote with leprosy. Pains and frightful dreams fill the hero's days and nights with groans and horror. In wild despair, at length he determines to set out in search of his great ancestor Hasisadra, the Chaldean Noah, who lives as an immortal at the mouth of the rivers ; from him he hopes to learn how he may be healed. It is noteworthy that the illness of our solar hero, recorded in this SEVENTH TABLET, falls under the seventh month, Sept.-Oct., when the Sun's power begins to weaken.

Following the painful steps of the unhappy Izdubar in his

* This designation is with reference to the beautiful legend which occurs in this Tablet, of the descent of Ishtar (Venus) into the underworld in search of her dead Dummuzi (Tammuz, Adonis).

search for Hasisadra forms the interest of the EIGHTH TABLE.* The sign of Scorpio gives us a preview of the hero's fortunes. He drags himself to the boundaries of the world, where he comes upon the scorpion-men, who guard the gateway of the sun, "their crown at the lattice of heaven, under hell their feet." They point out to Izdubar the way to the land of the blessed at the mouth of the rivers where Hasisadra dwells.

The NINTH TABLE relates how Izdubar painfully continues his way over an unbroken tract of sand. He comes at length to a grove of magnificent trees, whose yield of fruit was gems and precious stones; and soon after he draws near to the sea.

This brings us to the TENTH TABLE. Izdubar has reached the shores of the encircling sea—the sea of the Waters of Death; and the story falls in the tenth month, that dedicated to Nergal, the god of death, and under the sign of Capricornus, the goat, which animal was the emblem of the god of death [cf. Sayce: *Hibb. Lect.*, p. 284.]

Though Izdubar is informed by Sabitu, the keeper of the waters: "There never was a passage, O Izdubar, and no one has ever been allowed to cross the sea," yet by the recital of his woes he arouses the compassion of Amili-Ea, the Chaldean Charon, who receives him into his boat. After a journey of one month and fifteen days on the Waters of Death, they arrive at the distant land by the mouth of the rivers where Hasisadra the Deluge-hero dwells.

The ELEVENTH TABLE, the one of most interest to Bible students, corresponds to the month Shabatu, which is consecrated to the storm and rain-god Raman, and is under the zodiacal sign Aquarius, the water-man. The Akkadians called this eleventh month *iti asa sigi* (Assyr. *arah arrat zunni*) "the month of the curse of rain."

Izdubar stands at length before his renowned ancestor Hasisadra.† He tells the tale of his sickness and wanderings,

* The Assyrian, name of the month which corresponds to the sign *Arahsamna*, "the eighth month," explains its Jewish name, *Marchesvan*.

† Known to the ancient Greek historians by the name Xisuthros. It seems that when Abydenus, the Greek historian, chronicled the legend of the

and desires of Hasisadra the knowledge which will serve to his healing; he moreover asks him "how he came to be translated alive to the assembly of the gods." Hasisadra replies by giving him an account of the Deluge, the waters of which are evidently regarded as the purgation of sin. Having finished his narrative, Hasisadra commits Izdubar to Amili-Ea to be purged in the same way by water. His healing and immortality being thus effected, he returns to Erech.

The TWELFTH TABLET falls under the sign Pisces, "the twin-fish of Ea" accompanying the sun, and in "the dark month," the last of the year. It is a canto of mourning—Izdubar's lamentation for the lost Eabani. His grief at last touches the heart of the god Ea, and in pity he sends to bring the spirit of Eabani from the under-world into the land of the blessed, there to live in felicity, stretched out on soft couches and drinking the crystal water of eternal spring. Thus the Epic ends.

III. THE BIBLICAL VERSIONS OF THE DELUGE.

It was in Ezra's day, the middle of the fifth century B.C., that the work of collecting the Jewish sacred writings was for the most part done. It is not probable that Ezra himself gathered the laws into a book; the process had been going on for some time in Babylonia, where he was only one of many workers; yet it may have been Ezra who edited almost all of the Pentateuch.

This collection of "Five Books," as is now agreed by the

Deluge from Berossus, about 268 B.C., he corrupted the name Hasisadra into Xisuthros.

According to the Chaldean account preserved by Berossus, Xisuthros, warned by Kronos (Ea) of a coming flood, took "the beginning, the middle, and the end of whatever was consigned to writing," and buried it in the City of the Sun, at Sippara. There he built a vessel, and put on board food, birds, animals, wife, children, and friends. The flood having come and in time the waters having assuaged, Xisuthros sent out birds, which, not finding food or resting-place, returned. Again he sent them forth, and they returned with mud on their feet. After the third sending they did not return. The vessel having grounded on Mt. Nizir, Xisuthros left it, erected an altar, sacrificed to the gods, and disappeared.

best Hebrew scholars, was not written all at once; its composition extended over a number of centuries paralleling the growth of the nation. To speak only of the Book of *Genesis*, in which our present interest centres: From time to time the oral traditions of the early times, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were reduced to writing; this began as far back as 800 B.C., or perhaps even before that date. Later on, "by the waters of Babylon," the Israelites heard again the stories of the creation and the first fortunes of the human race, legends whose character subsequently found them an appropriate place as an introduction to the Book of *Genesis*.

A critical examination of this Book shows that its constituent parts are distinguished by the use of different Divine names. For instance, it is well known that in chapters VI. to IX., relating to the deluge, there are two different narratives, the one taken from the Elohist document (using the Divine name ELOHIM, "GOD"); the other from the Jehovist (using the Divine name JEHOVAH, often mistranslated "the LORD"). The Jehovist document seems to have been the older and of Judaic origin, whereas the Elohist was from North Israel: this difference in origin and date accounts for the difference in usage of the Divine names. Some editor took the two versions, and, without changing them, made a skillful combination; a combination was all that his work was, for when we dissociate the primary texts, a remarkable lack of harmony between them becomes apparent. This abstinence on the part of the editor or compiler from harmonising the two texts by removing their divergencies is, as Lenormant has said, "a decisive proof of the holy and inspired character which he already recognised in their composition." He seemed to be unwilling, for the same reason, to omit anything from either document; as a consequence, the circumstances of the Deluge are twice related in different words.

A study of the text dissolved and restored to its documentary sources, and a comparison of these with the Chaldean version, will now be in place. We shall see that none of the repetitions of the final text of *Genesis* occur in the Chaldean Epic, and that it is with each of the constituent versions of the Biblical Deluge, when disentangled, that the Chaldean

narrative coincides—both of which facts are proofs of the composite nature of the Hebrew text.

JEHOVIST.

VI. 5-8. And Jehovah saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. And it repented Jehovah that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart. And Jehovah said: I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the ground; both man, and beast, and creeping thing, and fowl of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them. But Noah found grace in the eyes of Jehovah.

ELOHIST.

9-22. These are the generations of Noah: Noah was a just man and perfect in his generations: Noah walked with GOD. And Noah begat three sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth. And the earth was corrupt before GOD, and the earth was filled with violence. And God saw the earth, and behold, it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth. And God said: The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and behold, I will destroy them with the earth. Make thee an ark of gopher wood; rooms (lit. nests) shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch. And this is how thou shalt make it: The length of the ark three hundred cubits, the

JEHOVIST.

ELOHIST.

breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits. A window (lit. light) shalt thou make to the ark, and in a cubit shalt thou finish it above ; and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof ; with lower, second, and third stories shalt thou make it. And I, behold, I do bring the flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all the flesh wherein is the breath of life from under heaven ; everything that is in the earth shall die. But I will establish my covenant with thee, and thou shalt come into the ark, thou and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee. And of every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee ; they shall be male and female. Of the fowl after their kind, and of the cattle after their kind, of every creeping thing of the ground after its kind, two of every sort shall come unto thee, to keep them alive. And take thou unto thee of all food that is eaten, and gather it to thee ; and it shall be for food for thee and for them. Thus did Noah ; according to all that God commanded, so did he.

VII. 1-10. And Jehovah said unto Noah : Come thou and all thy house into the ark ; for thee have I seen righteous before me in this generation. Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee by sevens, the male and his female ; and of beasts that are not clean by two,

Jehovist.

Elohist.

the male and his female ; of the fowl also of the air by sevens, male and female, to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth. For yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights; and every living thing that I have made will I blot out from off the face of the earth. And Noah did according to all that Jehovah commanded him.

And Noah was six hundred years old when the flood of waters was upon the earth. And Noah went in, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him, into the ark because of the waters of the flood. Of clean beasts and of beasts that are not clean, and of fowls, and of everything that creepeth upon the earth, there went in two and two unto Noah into the ark, male and female, as God commanded Noah. And it came to pass after the seven days that the waters of the flood were upon the earth.

11. In the sixth hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, the seventeenth day of the month, on the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened.

12. And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights.

13-16a. In the self-same day entered Noah, and Shem and Ham and Japheth, the sons of Noah, and Noah's wife, and the three wives of

JEHOVIST.

16b-17. And Jehovah shut him in. And the flood was forty days upon the earth; and the waters increased and bore up the ark, and it was lifted above the earth.

23. And every living thing was destroyed which was upon the face of the ground, both man and cattle, and the creeping thing and fowl of

ELOHIST.

his sons with them, into the ark; they and every beast after his kind, and all the cattle after their kind, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth after its kind, and every fowl after its kind, every bird of every sort. And they went in unto Noah into the ark, two and two of all flesh wherein is the breath of life. And they that went in, went in male and female of all flesh, as GOD commanded him.

18-22. And the waters prevailed, and increased greatly upon the earth; and the ark went upon the face of the waters. And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth; and all the high mountains that were under the whole heaven were covered. Fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail; and all the mountains were covered. And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, both fowl and cattle and beast, and creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man; all in whose nostrils was the breath of the spirit of life, of all that was in the dry land, died.

JEHOVIST.

the heaven ; and they were destroyed from the earth ; and Noah only was left, and they that were with him in the ark.

ELOHIST.

24-VIII. 2a. And the waters prevailed upon the earth an hundred and fifty days. And GOD remembered Noah, and every living thing, and all the cattle that were with him in the ark ; and GOD made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters assuaged ; the fountains also of the deep and the windows of heaven were stopped.

2b-3a. And the rain from heaven was restrained ; and the waters returned from off the earth continually.

3b-5. And after the end of the hundred and fifty days the waters decreased. And the ark rested in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat. And the waters decreased continually until the tenth month : in the tenth month, on the first day of the month, were the tops of the mountains seen.

6-12. And it came to pass at the end of forty days that Noah opened the window of the ark which he had made ; and he sent forth a raven, and it went forth to and fro until the waters were dried up from off the earth. Also he sent forth a dove from him to see if the waters were abated from off the face of the ground ; but the dove found no rest for the sole of her foot, and

JEHOVIST.

she returned unto him to the ark, for the waters were on the face of the whole earth; and he put forth his hand and took her, and brought her in unto him into the ark. And he stayed yet other seven days, and again he sent forth the dove out of the ark; and the dove came in to him at eventide, and lo! in her mouth an olive leaf pluckt off; so Noah knew that the waters were abated from the earth. And he stayed yet other seven days, and he sent forth the dove; and she returned not again unto him any more.

13^b. And Noah removed the covering of the ark, and looked, and behold, the face of the ground was dry.

ELOHIST.

13^a. And it came to pass in the six hundredth and first year, in the first month, the first day of the month, the waters were dried up from off the earth.

14-19. And in the second month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, was the earth dry.

And GOD spake unto Noah, saying, Go forth of the ark, thou, and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives with thee. Bring forth with thee every living thing that is with thee, of all flesh, both fowl, and cattle, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth; that they may breed abundantly in the earth, and be fruitful, and multiply upon the earth. And Noah went forth, and his sons and his

JEHOVIST.

ELOHIST.

wife, and his sons' wives with him;
every beast, every creeping thing,
and every fowl, and whatsoever
moveth upon the earth, after their
families, went forth out of the ark.

20-22. And Noah built an altar
unto Jehovah ; and took of every
clean beast, and of every clean
fowl, and offered burnt offerings
on the altar. And Jehovah smelled
the sweet savor; and Jehovah said
in his heart, I will not again curse
the ground any more for man's
sake, for that the imagination of
man's heart is evil from his youth;
neither will I again smite any more
every living thing, as I have done.
While the earth remaineth, seed-
time and harvest, and cold and
heat, and summer and winter, and
day and night shall not cease.

Such are the two versions—evidently based on the same story preserved under widely differing circumstances. The Jehovistic, the form of the legend which Abraham brought away with him from his Eastern home, and which was passed down by word of mouth until it reached the Jehovist, we have seen, varies materially from the account of the later Elohist author, written after the recollection of the people had been refreshed by renewed contact with their Mesopotamian ancestors and their legends. Moreover, there is reason to question whether the version which the Elohist gave was not based on a different Chaldean tradition than that which gave the Jehovist his facts, inasmuch as the three mutilated texts from Assurbanipal's library from which Mr. Smith patched together the Chaldean Legend show certain variations which warrant the belief that the Legend, as we now have it, is an amalgamation of at least two older poems on the subject. The earlier part of the Tablet, for instance, ascribes the Deluge to Shamash, the Sun-god, where-

as later on it is ascribed to Bel. Undoubtedly as excavations are continued, further fragments will be found, and we shall have the differing forms of the legend in the complete state in which they were once familiarly known in Chaldea.

Let us next look at the Chaldean version, keeping certain questions before us: to determine

(1) Whether the Chaldean and Biblical accounts are not one;

(2) Whether in addition to the historic *data* which we have with regard to the origin of the Chaldean account, its simpler and more natural tone does not claim for it that it is the original, and that from it the Hebrews borrowed their information.

IV. THE CHALDEAN VERSION OF THE DELUGE.*

The city Shurippak, the city which thou knowest, which is situated upon the river Euphrates, that city was ancient when the gods therein formed their resolve to make a deluge—the great gods [as many as] there were, their father Anu, their prince the warrior Bel, their throne-bearer Adar, their leader Innugi. The lord of wisdom, Ea, was seated with them, and he repeated their counsel unto *kikkish kikkish igar igar*: ‘Listen *kikkish*; pay attention *igar*. O Shurippakite, son of Ubaratutu, construct a house, build a ship, leave? the gate? The seed of life (the gods) are about to destroy; the seed of life do thou save alive. Cause the seed of life of all kinds to enter into the midst of the ship. The ship which thou shalt build, even thou, 600 cubits (shall be) the measure of its length, 120 cubits the measure of its breadth and its height. Upon the deep cover it over with a deck.’ I understood and I said unto Ea, my lord: ‘[If], my lord, I shall honor, I shall do as thou hast commanded, the city, the people, and the elder [will laugh at me],’ Ea opened his mouth and spoke, he spoke unto his servant, even unto me: ‘[If they laugh at thee], thus shalt thou say unto them: . . .

what was needed I brought. On the fifth day I laid its prow. In its . . . its sides were 120 cubits high; the extent of its deck was 120 cubits. I laid the walls, I enclosed it . . . on the sixth day. On the seventh I divided its interior compartments.

* The author would acknowledge his indebtedness to his friend, Prof. D. G. Lyon, of Harvard University, for much valuable aid in preparing this translation.

On the ninth I filled ? its interior with water ; I saw the leaks, and added what was needed. Three times thirty-six hundred measures of pitch I poured upon the exterior ; three times thirty-six hundred measures of pitch I poured upon the interior.

All that I possessed I gathered together. All that I possessed of silver, I gathered together. All that I possessed of gold, I gathered together. All that I possessed of the seed of life, all I caused to ascend into the interior of the ship, all my family and kinsfolk, the cattle of the field, the beasts of the plain, the artisans (*i.e.*, those who had been engaged in the building of the ark), all I caused to ascend. The set time which Shamash had appointed (saying) : ' A voice shall proclaim in the evening, The heavens are about to rain down woes ; enter into the ship and shut thy door ! ' that set time drew near. A voice proclaimed in the evening, ' The heavens are about to rain down woes.' For four ? days I looked at his face (*i.e.*, he prayed to the Sun-god, Shamash). One day I was afraid to intreat ; I entered into the ship and shut my door in order to close the ship. Unto Buzurkurgal, the pilot, I entrusted the great structure with all that it contained. Musirinanamari* arises from the horizon, a black cloud ; Raman thunders in the midst of it. Nabu and Sharru march in advance ; the Throne-bearers march over mountain and plain. The . . . of the Plague-god rages furiously. Adar comes and causes the streams to flow. The Anunnaki† lift up torches ; by their own effulgence they cause the earth to quake. Raman's violence reaches up to heaven ; whatever is bright (*i.e.*, the constellations) it turns into darkness. . . . they come upon the people like a battle-onset. Brother sees not brother, people recognise not each other.

In the heavens the gods are afraid at the deluge and seek a place of refuge ; they mount to the heaven of Anu.‡ The gods crouch like a dog ; over the battlements of heaven they lie stretched out. Ishtar cries aloud like a woman in travail ; the goddess, the noble, the kindly of speech, speaks : ' Yon race is turned into slime ; which evil I foretold in the presence of the gods, when I foretold evil in the presence of the gods, foretold the onset for the destruction of my people. I indeed bear human kind, but not like the off-

* "Water of morning at the dawn," one of the personifications of the storm-cloud.

† The Anunnaki were the spirits of earth ; their torches were evidently the lightning.

‡ Anu, the chief of the gods, had his seat in the highest heaven.

spring of fish shall they fill the sea." The gods together with the Anunnaki weep with her; the gods dejected sit in tears. Their lips are covered. . . .

Six days and seven nights the wind rages, the deluge, the storm overwhelms. On the seventh day at dawn it ceased, it, the deluge, which had contended like a troop, ceased from the onset; the deep assuaged, and the evil wind and the deluge ceased. I looked at the sea with lamentation, seeing that all mankind was turned into slime. Like trunks of trees the corpses floated about. I opened the window (lit., breathing-hole), and the light fell upon my cheeks. I shuddered, and I sat down and wept, the tears coursed down my cheeks. I looked towards the four quarters—a fearful sea. At a distance of twelve measures there rose a region. I directed the ship towards the land of Nizir. A mountain of the land of Nizir arrested the ship, and did not let it go free. A day and a second day, Mt. Nizer held the ship and did not let it go free. A third day, a fourth day, Mt. Nizir held, etc. A fifth, a sixth, Mt. Nizir held, etc. At the approach of the seventh day, I brought out a dove, I loosed her. The dove went forth to and fro, (found) no resting-place, and returned. I brought out a swallow, I loosed her. The swallow went forth to and fro, (found) no resting-place, and returned. I brought out a raven, I loosed him. The raven went forth, saw the decrease of the waters: he eats, he wades about, he goes to and fro, and he returns not.

I caused (the ship's inmates) to go forth unto the four winds. I offered up a sacrifice, I made a libation on the top of the summit of the mountain. By sevens I arranged the sacred vessels; in the bottom of them I pound reeds, cedar-wood, and aromatic wood. The gods smelled the savor; the gods smelled the sweet savor; the gods gathered like flies above the master of the sacrifice.

When the exalted goddess (*i.e.*, Ishtar) came, from afar she raised aloft the great bows which Anu had made (*i.e.*, the rainbow), like . . . (and said): "Those gods—by the crystal on my neck (I swear it), I shall not forget; those days I have thought upon and I shall never forget. Let the gods come unto my libation; but Bel shall not come unto my libation, because he acted unadvisedly and made a deluge, and delivered my people to destruction."

When Bel came, he saw the ship from afar, and Bel stood still. He was filled with anger against the gods and the Igigi.* "Has any one come out alive? Not a man shall live in the destruction!"

* The Igigi were the spirits of heaven.

Adar opened his mouth and said, he said unto the warrior Bel : ' Who except Ea should have done this thing? for Ea knows all magical power.' Ea opened his mouth and said, he said unto the warrior Bel : " O thou leader of the gods, warrior, inasmuch as thou didst act unadvisedly, and didst make a deluge, the sinner has borne his sin, the wrong-doer his wrong-doing, appease thyself ! Let him (*i.e.*, the refugee) not be cut off ! Be gracious ; do not Instead of making a deluge, let the lion come and diminish the people. Instead of making a deluge, let the jackal come and diminish the people. Instead of the deluge, let a famine be made and diminish the people. Instead of making a deluge, let pestilence come and diminish the people. I did not divulge the decision of the great gods. I caused Adrahasis* to see a dream and he heard the decision of the gods.'

Then Bel came to his senses (*lit.*, his understanding was understanding). Bel entered into the ship ; he grasped my hand and made me rise. He made my wife rise, and he pressed her to my side. He turned towards us, and stood between us and blessed us, (*saying*): ' Until now Pirnapishtim has been mortal ; but now Pirnapishtim and his wife shall be exalted like the gods ; verily, Pirnapishtim shall dwell far away at the mouth of the rivers.' Then they took me and caused me to dwell far away at the mouth of the rivers.

V. A COMPARISON OF THE VERSIONS.

Mr. George Smith was the first to call attention to the fact that whereas the Mesopotamian tale bears the stamp of a maritime people, with its ship which is launched, tried, and given in charge of a pilot, the Hebrew narrative is that of an inland population, whose ark, *tebhah*, is a coffer, and who make no mention of the sea, and of navigation. Noah's ark was not like Hasisadra's ship, in the power of the steersman who guided it onwards to the mountains, but, as a chest resting on the land, it was lifted up by the power of the Deluge only, and floated on still higher and higher until it was on a level with the mountain-tops. The indications here are decidedly in favor of ascribing priority of possession to the Chaldeans—the people who were most familiar with the subject with which the legend dealt.

* Hasisadra, Adrahasis, and Pirnapishtim are all names of the Chaldean Noah.

En passant the difference in the number of the occupants of the Noah and the Hasisadra arks must be noted. The vessel of the latter was a refuge for others than the builder's family—he brought in with him a whole population of kinsfolk and ship-builders. In the Bible ark we have only Noah and his family, the idea being emphasised that only the righteous man was saved.

In regard to the characterisation of the animals and birds which entered with Noah we have an interesting point. Whereas in the Chaldean legend there is no distinction between clean and unclean, and nothing is said of the brute creation marching in by sevens (although it was Mesopotamia which gave birth to the mystical nature of that number), in the composite *Genesis* text, one version of the story of Noah's preparations, and only one, the Jehovist, makes both of these distinctions.

In regard to the Deluge itself, the Jehovist follows the cuneiform version in bringing the waters as rain from heaven. The Elohist takes a larger conception. He pictures to us both the opening of the flood-gates in heaven and the gushing forth of the springs of the great abyss, "the waters under the earth."

The composite nature of the *Genesis* is further brought out by the difference of statement as regards the duration of the Deluge. The Chaldean account—according to which the waters abated on the seventh day, and the seventh day after the ship touched the mountain the birds were sent out—differs materially from the Bible; yet not more than the latter does in its various statements on the subject.

In the Elohist account the epochs of the Deluge are indicated by the numbers of the order of the months; but these numbers of order refer to a lunar year. The rain begins to fall and Noah enters into the ark on the seventeenth day of the second month. The full force of the storm lasts one hundred and fifty days, and on the seventeenth day of the seventh month, the ark comes to a standstill on the mountains of Ararat. On the first day of the tenth month the mountains are bare. On the first day of the first month of the following year the waters have entirely disappeared from the earth; and Noah comes forth from the ark on the twenty-seventh day of

the second month. The Deluge lasted one lunar year plus eleven days, or one solar year.

The Jehovahist system of reckoning is entirely different. According to that Jehovah informs Noah of the coming cataclysm only seven days before-hand. The Deluge lasts forty days, after which Noah sends out the three birds at intervals of seven days; thus making it the twenty-first day after he opened his window for the first time before he goes forth from the ark, and offers his sacrifice. We have then for a total forty plus twenty-one, or sixty-one days, a period not one-fourth as long as that stated by the Elohist.

We come next to perhaps the most poetical feature of the Deluge story, the sending forth of the birds. The episode has a remarkable connection with the discovery of the existence of the Chaldean account. In 1872, Mr. George Smith in sorting some tablet fragments in the British Museum came across a broken bit on which he could read the words: "Mt. Nizir held the ship and did not let it go free. . . . I brought out a dove, I loosed her. The dove went forth to and fro, found no resting-place, and returned." The happy discoverer at once knew that he held in his hand a fragment of the cuneiform narrative of the Deluge.

The Chaldean and the *Genesis* accounts agree that birds were sent forth to determine how far the water had subsided, but they differ curiously as to details. Observe that in the Tablet three birds are loosed, a dove, a swallow, and a raven; but that when the story passed over to the Hebrews, the name of one of these birds entirely disappeared; the bird which Noah sends out the second time is, as the first, a dove. As Schrader has suggested:

It is only from the Babylonian narrative that the selection of the different birds becomes clear. The Babylonian sends all three immediately after one another; in each case, as soon as the bird which has been despatched returns, the following one is sent forth. Accordingly the Babylonian chooses on each occasion a different bird, that was perhaps better adapted to obtain for him the wished-for information. Though the dove returned to the ark, loth to withdraw far from its accustomed abode, yet this does not exclude the possibility that the less-confiding, swift, and far-flying swallow might at length

discover land where the dove had not yet found it. But the raven, which had not the same dread of the water as the dove, was the first to discover land and did not therefore return to the ark. This seems to have been somewhat the train of thought in the mind of the Babylonian narrator. In the Bible story the process of thought appears obscured, and this owing to the introduction of the three intervals of seven days. If such periods existed, we cannot see why in that case the same birds were not sent out after the lapse of each period. Indeed, after so long an interval the situation might have so completely changed, that the same bird might now find what he had before searched for in vain, seeing that the Biblical narrator without any scruple substitutes the dove for the swallow, which vanishes from the story, and the dove actually appears three times in succession. In the Babylonian we find, just as the logic of concrete relations requires, that the two birds first sent forth return, and the fact that the third fails to do so is the proof for which Hasisadra is looking. In the Bible it is in fact the very first bird sent forth which fails to return. This is inconsistent with the absolute refusal to return of the bird sent forth on the third occasion. In the Bible we find, moreover, that a bird is sent forth four times to bring the needed information, the raven once, the dove three times. When we compare this with the three-fold despatch in the Babylonian account, a different bird being sent forth on each occasion, we see that the Biblical narrative was not the original story. This original occurrence of the number three is in the Biblical narrative merely replaced by the artificial thrice-repeated despatch of the dove, while the raven in the Biblical narrative has no longer any proper position.

The difference of statement as to where the ark rested is only an apparent, not a real one. The Tablet calls the mountain Nizir, which according to an inscription of Assurnazirpil, King of Assyria, who made an expedition thither, lay east of Assyria, forming part of a series of mountain chains extending to the northeast into Armenia. Mt. Ararat also lies east of Assyria, in the Kurdish mountains.

The account preserved by the Jehovist of the building of the altar and the sacrifice to Jehovah finds its parallel in the cuneiform. The similarity between the cuneiform and the Bible at the end of the story is very striking. The Tablet says, "The gods smelled the savor, the gods smelled the sweet savor, the gods gathered like flies above the master of the sac-

rifice"; the Bible, "Jehovah smelled the sweet savor; and Jehovah said in his heart, I will not curse the ground any more for man's sake."

The close of the legend, the sending of the rainbow, is singularly beautiful. Both the cuneiform and the Elohist tell of it, the Elohist having more fully developed the idea.

Our study has thus led us to certain general conclusions:

I. That the Chaldean and Biblical narratives are substantially one and the same; both speak of the building of an ark, preserving the seed of life, of birds sent out, of an altar with its sacrifice, of a sweet savor pleasing to the nostrils of the god, of a rainbow, etc.;

II. That there are two narratives in the *Genesis* text; shown, not only by each forming a complete, independent account, and by each differing from the other as to details, but also by the fact that only when resolved and restored to its original documents does the Hebrew text agree with the Chaldean;

III. That, of the two possibilities, we must acknowledge that these *Genesis* stories were borrowed from the Chaldean. This is forced upon us both by the existence of the story in Chaldea before Abraham went out to seek a new home, and by the greater naturalness and simplicity of the Chaldean narrative over those of the Bible.

We have thus traced the history of the Deluge Legend back full forty centuries to the, as yet, almost unknown Akkadians. Though the origin of the Legend is obscure and lost in the vagueness of the ancient past, yet here, as with respect to all of GOD'S revelations, we can say that

. . . . through the ages one increasing purpose runs.

The Akkadians were but the first keepers; they passed the story on to the Babylonians; by them it was delivered in a twofold manner to Israel, the chosen of GOD: once to the descendants of Terah living in the midst of a polytheistic people from whom they were bidden to come out, and once again when through the furnace of bondage, affliction, and exile they were at last purged of their disposition toward idolatry. Then only can we say that His "purpose" with regard to it

was accomplished, when the polytheistic dross of the Legend had entirely disappeared in the alembic of the sacred writers, from which came forth only the pure gold stamped with the Divine image of the one true GOD.

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In what respects can the Hymnal be Improved? and what should be the Character and Style of our Church Music?

I.

THE problem of Church Music is twofold, and in two different directions. It is something which must be produced by an individual mind, and yet is to be used by an indefinite multitude of persons. Then again, its style should be distinctively a Church style, and yet it must not be so remote from present popular apprehension as to be unappreciated if not totally useless.

As music must be produced by an individual mind, the worst way of getting a good collection is by putting it into the hands of a committee of a *legislative* body, appointed by *legislative* methods. Legislation is one thing, and the Divine art of Music is a totally different thing, and the two cannot be made to mix, any more than you can mix cold cast-iron and full-blooming roses. Legislation is best accomplished by the combined knowledge and common sense of a number of persons. Art is an *individual* gift, and can not lose its individuality without being destroyed. Even when two artists have united in painting one picture, it is by dividing the parts of it, so that one, for instance, paints the landscape and the other puts in the figures or the animals: but no *two* ever unite in doing the *same thing*. So, in music, one man may compose a melody, and another may harmonise it or arrange it for the orchestra or chorus, or both: but *two* men can not work together in composing one and the same *melody*. It is simply impossible in the nature of things.

As all music must be the work of individual minds, there-

fore, it must be left to those who have the natural gift, improved by the needful artistic cultivation. Committees appointed by legislative bodies to do such work are mere impertinences. The field *must* be left open to individual effort.

That being the case, anybody who feels so inclined must be free to compose and publish any sort of Church music he pleases. Of course a great deal of trash will appear,—as in all branches of intellectual effort,—even in “Biblical criticism.” The appeal is not to any legislative committee, but to the great body of those in the Church who furnish the music in our congregations. If they like the music they will use it; and if they don’t like it they won’t use it, and no legislation can make them.

But are *all* these organists and choirs really good and trustworthy judges of what Church music ought to be? Certainly not: and nobody says that they are. But, *as a general rule*, the organist and choir have given more attention to Church music than the rest of the congregation, and they are therefore better fitted to lead; though they would be wise not to go too far ahead of the general feeling of the congregation. And clergymen in particular should remember, that the canon which gives them authority of control does not and can not make them competent directors of choirs, if Nature has given them no *ear* for music, or education has taught them nothing beyond their natural ability to “turn a tune.”

Now if our Church music is to be furnished by individual minds, who have the special natural gift, we must remember that we can not order it *by the quantity*, or *by wholesale*. Works of art are not produced in that way. Even a great musical composer is not *always* in the mood to write a good hymn tune or anthem, much less to produce them by dozens. They are produced *occasionally*, it may be at long intervals: and we must wait for them. We *can not* get hold of them *in a hurry*. There will be a slow but gradual increase of material as time goes on. And with the gradual improvement of taste in church choirs, the quality of the supply will improve also.

As to “the character and style of our church music,” we must take into consideration the state of music in this country.

To pass at one jump from the tunes of the negro minstrels or Moody and Sankey hymns—which are about on a level—to the Gregorian Tones, is more than human nature will stand. The change *must* be gradual. And it is going on, in our more prominent churches, with reasonable rapidity. The operatic style of most of the music that comes to us from modern Roman sources is very tempting to fashionable mixed choirs with highly salaried sopranos and tenors. It may sometimes be exquisite—in its way: but it is exquisitely abominable. It belongs properly to the opera-house, and not to the House of GOD. But some congregations *will* have it, and there is no canonical way to prevent them, until the gradual growth of a more religious taste and sounder principle shall be strong enough to introduce something better. The rapid introduction of surpliced choirs in our churches is helping on a steady improvement in this respect. As a general rule, boys' voices can not be made to rival the operatic *prima donna*, and the selection of music *must* perforce be made from more churchly sources. English Church composers are constantly sending forth streams of admirable compositions deeply penetrated with true Church feeling, and uncontaminated with operatic or any secular associations. Our American composers are steadily following in their wake: some of them, indeed, with a large infusion of popular trashiness, but in process of time the stream will become clearer, as well as broader and deeper. The improvement already achieved, as compared with thirty years ago, is remarkable, and gives the highest encouragement for future growth.

Two things, in this connection, must be strenuously insisted on. First:—Let our Church legislative bodies, General and Diocesan, *keep their hands off*. Church music is none of their business, any more than Church poetry. They *can not* discharge any such function wisely or well, and will be sure to make fools of themselves if they try. That little Presbyterian sect which prohibits the singing of anything but Rouse's Psalms, is the only portion of Christendom that has ever tied itself up by such legislation, and is *that* our noblest model? Look at the overflowing wealth of the Oriental Church in hymns, many of which have a wonderful multitude of verses.

What one of all these was ever authorised or set forth by a Church Council before it was allowed to be sung? Look at the hundred thousand (or more) of Latin hymns used during a thousand years in various parts of the Western Church. How many of *them* passed the authorising ordeal of a Church Council? And as it was with the poetry, so was it also with the music. Suppose we should try to regulate *secular* music by means of our *secular* legislatures. How would it do to have a committee appointed by our House of Representatives at Washington, to produce and set forth instrumental symphonies to take the place of those by Beethoven and Wagner!—or a book of songs to supersede those of the negro minstrels! It may be said that the Constitution (very wisely) gives no such power to Congress. Very well. Then it is reserved to the States or to the people. Suppose, then, that the Legislature of the State of New York should prohibit the public performance of any secular music within that State, not previously approved by a committee of its Legislature: would that be any better? And if any member of the Legislature should seriously propose such a thing, would not his friends hasten to hide him in an insane asylum from the “inextinguishable laughter” of the community? The idea of legislation on this subject by the Church is equally stupid. It is never thought of by any one who is a real Church musician, for *he* knows that Church music has never been identical for two consecutive generations, and never can be. But cranks with grizzled or gray heads, who think that the tunes *they* learned when *they* were young are just the thing for everybody, and that nobody ought to be allowed to sing anything else,—*these* are the only ones who wish our Church legislatures to make asses of themselves on this subject. But those Church legislatures never *will*!

The other point is, that Church music—like the making of Church hymns—can *never* be stopped or fossilised, unless the Church be dying or dead. “O sing unto the LORD a *new* song,” says King David. And you may search the Bible through from cover to cover, including the Apocrypha, and you will never find *any* text which says, “O sing unto the LORD an *old* song.” People are ready enough to do *that*, without any special command or exhortation: but there are always

some who wish to stop the singing of anything *new*. A *living body* is perpetually changing so long as life continues. Every part of the flesh, and blood, and nerves, and even the bones, is being replaced and renewed from day to day, so that about once in seven years *everything* is new that pertains to the *body*. This is *life*. It is inseparable from *life*. But a *dead mummy* may remain unchanged for three thousand years!

J. H. HOPKINS.

II.

IT can not be denied that the Hymnal of the Protestant Episcopal Church is unsatisfactory to Churchmen generally. Considering this fact, and the inevitable difficulty of providing a book which shall meet the requirements, and be acceptable to all schools in the Church; is it not possible to allow us the liberty accorded to the English Church, where each Parish selects its own Hymnal; subject, probably, to the consent of its Bishop. If this is not practicable, and there is to be one authorised Hymnal, the use of which is virtually compulsory, this book should be a reflection of the Prayer Book, and as nearly as possible at the same high standard as regards comprehensiveness, dignity, and intelligibility.

The material of the Prayer Book and much of its form has stood the test of centuries: the wisdom and piety of the Fathers of the Church in various ages has been drawn upon; while in the Hymnal we have little that is not modern, much that is florid, sentimental, personal, awkward in expression, and far removed from the spirit of the older writers. About one-fifth of the hymns are open to criticism on one or other of these points; and of some of them it would hardly be too severe to quote the reply of a witty editor to a poetical correspondent: "Your verses lack fire—a want which we have supplied."

The Hymnal fails also in comprehensiveness: it includes hymns which are unnecessary, and unlikely to be used: while there is an inadequate supply for occasions, observance of which is ordered by the Church. For instances, there are fourteen hymns for family worship, ten for visitation of the sick; while only eight are provided for twenty-one "other holy-days," all of which have Special Collect, Epistle, and Gospel. Some of the hymns for family worship and "visitation" are

doubtless useful ; but my impression is that sick persons, and families around the piano on Sunday evening, as a rule call for those hymns which have become familiar to them at church.

In short, we need more hymns for the regular services, less for occasional ministrations ; more elevated feeling, and a higher literary standard.

The music for our book ought to be, and might be, on the same level ; suited to the words. No quotation from the opera, or suggestion of secular occasions, is in place here. The quantity of material is immense and daily increasing.

There are four classes of hymn tunes worthy of being drawn upon :

1. The Mediæval, of which there are several too fine to be neglected.
2. The German Chorale.
3. The Old English, such as *S. Ann's, Dundee*.
4. The Modern English : in which would be included American tunes of the last twenty years.

"*St. Ann's*" furnishes the best model of what a hymn tune should be—strong, simple, and within the reach of every one to sing : for whatever may be the case with other parts of the service, the hymn belongs to the congregation, and the tune should be such as all can join in.

The character of the music used in Divine service, other than hymns, must and will vary with the style of service and the capability of the choir. The Gregorian Tones, in their own day the best music that was to be had, are not the best now ; and we have no right to offer anything but the best. They are, however, often acceptable for occasional use ; and, dressed up with organ and modern harmonies, can be made very effective. For general purposes we have the severely intellectual music of the Palestrina school, the more simple, refined compositions of the English cathedral writers, and the highly seasoned productions of the present generation ; while for churches where an ornate celebration of the Holy Communion is the rule, there are the Masses of the great masters, from Haydn on to Gounod.

With regard to this class of music, it is worthy of note that these Masses, so popular with us, are absolutely forbidden by

a considerable section of German Catholics, who hold very strict views on Church music, advocating a return to the severe music of the Palestrina school, and adherence to the limitations laid down by the Council of Trent. A society for this purpose exists (S. Cecilia), with branches in this country including many churches.

The general tendency of our Church music is, on the whole, in a good direction, the drift being toward the emotional rather than the intellectual. From one point of view this may be thought an advantage; at all events, for some time to come, it is inevitable.

A. H. MESSITER.

III.

OUR existing Hymnal might be improved by transferring certain hymns from the Special Heading under which they are placed to that of General. There is an incongruity in giving out a hymn in church which has its special heading at top of the page "Visitation of the Sick," or "Family Worship," when the hymn in question is most appropriate for extended and general use. Instances of this kind are Hymns 252, 256, 319, 326.

Our existing Hymnal might be improved by omitting quite a number of hymns never sung. Why take up space with such as Hymn 38, and other metrical dislocations of the Psalter? Our Hymnal needs judicious weeding rather than extension. If, however, Hymns are to be added, they should be taken as the authors left them, and not tinkered by poets. The ancient Breviary Hymns ought to be included as far as practicable. We should also fearlessly adopt the output of poetic hearts in our own day, especially those written by our brethren in the faith, both in England and America.

Our existing Hymnal might be improved by taking it out of the direct range of the General Convention. Nothing can be more dismal, except it be a debate on Dogma or Ritual, than to hear a cumbersome body like our General Convention gravely discussing the sentiment or rhythm of a hymn—a tender, evanescent and yet real thing—which can be made utterly ridiculous by tricky emphasis, or become absolutely ludicrous by the prosy accidents of tumultuous debate. The Convention should have the power to reject or adopt "as a

whole," but time and common sense ought not to be wasted in putting an elephant to work at David's Lyre. The Committee on the Hymnal should not have their work pulled to pieces in such a fashion. The place is not fitting, nor the persons most eager to do such work duly qualified. Our existing Hymnal might be improved by a series of indices, giving suitable hymns for various purposes, such as hymns appropriate for each Sunday and holiday in the Christian year, and other occasions, including in this, it may be, Processional, Recessional, and other hymns, whose fitness would be based upon some parallel or illuminative thought in connection with the Collects or Scripture of the service. An additional and separate index of first lines of all stanzas, as well as the first, might also be supplied.

As regards the second question, "What shall be the character and style of our Church music?"

This is even more difficult to adjust than the first. It is as well to admit at once that it is impossible to restrict Church music to one style. Where the Church has spoken on the matter she has uttered her voice in favor of a grave, simple style or manner in which the words sung shall rule the music, and not that the music sung shall rule the words. This style was set forth at various times in the Western Church; and at our own Reformation period the English Church formally adopted the same principle. We have such grave music—a word to a note—set forth in Merbecke's Book of Common Prayer, Noted, a work in exact accord with the musical traditions of the past. It would be well if our own American Church put forth a Noted Hymnal and Book of Common Prayer in this ancient and correct spirit, and then left its adoption or rejection to the will and devotion of its members.

There are those whom this would never satisfy. They will have their sensuous music, their sweet airs, their scientific developments, their artistic delights. The Church should tolerate this, for all men are not alike, but the Church should also have her own standard in music set up, as simple, earnest, and clear as the statements in her creed. Such music would show its power in the lowly village congregation, where one or two could with dignity utter it, as well as in the great

Diocesan and Triennial gatherings of the Church, when the whole people could join in that in which alone they can possibly unite—the ancient authentic plain song, or simple chant of the Church. The scientific, the artistic, the voluptuous, if you will, may have its tolerated place in Church music, but, useful as its place may be, it can never supersede that style in Church music which alone enables priest and people to praise and confess GOD with one mouth and with one accord. This style should be reasserted by the American Church as its sacred standard. If this were done there would be laid a solid foundation, upon which the more florid styles might have their changing place; for change they would. Taste and sentiment with their forms of expression ever vary with the changing years, but the authentic song of the Church, based upon the few simple, primitive, and unvarying laws of human speech, like them never changes. By these means our existing Hymnal might be improved, and the character of our Church music would be authoritatively established. It should not, however, be understood that these standards would demand a rigid and unvarying use, in all places and at all times, for, granted an authorised Hymnal and an authorised style of Church music, there should with these be permitted to the priests of the Church the unsuspected liberty to use such other hymns and music as time, place, and circumstance might cause to be conducive to devotion.

In the process of use the fitness of things would sift out the worthless and the unsuitable, while the unvarying standards of the Church would ever abide.

J. H. KNOWLES.

IV.

A QUESTION like the first one of the two under consideration can be best answered by inquiring into the aims and resources of the compilers of the book sought to be improved, and noting how they availed themselves of the one to reach the other. That the Church desired an improvement of the old selection of Psalms and Hymns is not to be wondered at. Tate and Brady, Sternhold and Hopkins, and Isaac Watts

were good enough in their way, and, no doubt, wrote some admirable versions of the Psalms, and hymns which no good Hymnal would omit, but a mine of wonderfully beautiful hymnology had been discovered and opened by Neale, and the Tractarian movement had drawn attention to the wealth of the Church in ancient hymns. Compared with the latter the former seemed lacking in that element of spirituality which is so desirable in a hymn. The publication of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* must also have quickened and increased the desire for a change.

How did the Committee which were appointed do their work? An examination of the Hymnal shows that they drew from the various schools of hymnology (speaking in round numbers) as follows :

Ancient Hymns, Latin and Greek	-	-	-	100
Metrical Psalms	-	-	-	70
Watts, Wesley and the Evangelical school	-	-	-	170
Modern Church composers	-	-	-	100

thus leaving about 100 from scattering sources. So much for the source from which the hymns were derived.

Having the hymns, the Hymnal was divided into thirteen subjects, with numerous subdivisions which we need not recount, as any one can see what they are by a reference to the book itself.

Now the question of the aims of the compilers of the Hymnal is not a difficult one to ascertain. A Hymnal is a collection of metrical compositions to be sung at proper times by the congregation as a congregation, or for private and family use. A hymn should be good when regarded from various standpoints; viz., poetical, devotional, doctrinal, or musical, and compositions suitable for public use should largely preponderate over those intended for private purposes.

Considering the Hymnal from a poetical standpoint quite a number would have to be struck out. To give every instance would take up too much space, but the majority of the selection from the metrical Psalms could well be spared. Nos. 9, 11, and 38 may be named as samples of those which would be no loss to the Hymnal. The Hymnal contains too many of Watts's hymns, and indeed a large number of his hymns and

those of the Evangelical school are deficient in poetical grace. Nos. 57, 96, 123, 77, 30, could well be spared. Most of the ancient hymns and those by recent Church composers are satisfactory as poetry, but surely Nos. 23, 36, 108, 93, would not be very much missed.

The devotional element is of two kinds,—public and private. As we said before, the public element should largely preponderate. The metrical Psalms are largely rough paraphrases of the Psalms of David, and many of those in the Hymnal are too theological or didactic. Those by the Evangelical school are in the main more suited for private than for public use.

So far as the doctrinal question is concerned there is nothing to note, unless it be to doubt whether there is sufficient breadth of view—whether, in fact, the narrow Evangelical view does not prevail a little too much.

Almost the same remarks as those made on the poetical will apply to the musical part of the question, and speaking roughly we may say that about 200 of the hymns now in the Hymnal could be struck out without being much missed. Then we should have about 330 hymns which are really good from whichever standpoint they are viewed.

The question then arises, would the Hymnal thus curtailed be sufficient for the purposes of worship, whether public or private? and if not, from whence, and on what subjects, should the additions be made?

This question then suggests a consideration of the divisions into subjects of the present Hymnal, and whether it can be shortened, added to, or improved. That it could with advantage be shortened in several cases is probable. The division *Communion of Saints* could be struck out, and the only good hymns in it, Nos. 186, 187, 189, transferred to *Other Holy Days* where they properly belong. The division *Holy Scriptures* could also be eliminated, as the only good hymn it contains is No. 362, which could well and should be put among *General Hymns*. The whole of sections IX., X., XI., XII., XIII., need thorough remodeling, and many of the hymns which would remain, after the weeding-out suggested, could with great propriety be transferred to others of the then remaining sections. Time and space alike prevent an enumeration of all the

changes needed or desirable, but a few may be noted as examples. Nos. 481, 483, and 484 belong to *Advent* just as much as do Nos. 1, 2, and 3. It is hard to imagine why Nos. 464 and 504 are not in the same division, as they are both paraphrases of the 23d Psalm. And one is equally at a loss to know why Nos. 509 and 493 should be separated. The division called *The Lord's Day* would be more in place at the beginning, than where it is.

That the divisions need adding to will be apparent when mention is made of the absence of a section, *For the Young*. Why this was omitted seems strange and almost unaccountable. Provision is made for the *Burial of a Child*, but no special provision for him while alive. A section for *Processionals*, while not so necessary, would often be an advantage, and for Missions and Special Services *Litanies* would not be out of place.

Beside all this, a number of the sections could be provided with additional hymns, to the improvement of the Hymnal. *Ascensiontide* and *Whitsuntide*, which are short seasons, have twelve and thirteen hymns respectively, while *Easter tide* has but fifteen allotted to it. *Advent* again has but fifteen hymns and *Epiphany* fourteen. The final question is, from what sources can the proposed additions be obtained, and to what extent shall they be made? It has been frequently said that but few of the hymns are used, and if by this one is to understand that but few are used in any one church or by any one clergyman, the statement is probably correct, but churches and clergymen are many and diversified, and a Hymnal to be suitable to the Church at large must be varied, and that means full. Taking this into consideration, the number of hymns in the present Hymnal is not too large, and if some are weeded out their places should be supplied, having care, however, that the additions be of good quality.

It would be impossible, in the space allotted to an article like this, to name all the hymns which might with advantage be added to the Hymnal, but an indication of the books which would furnish all the information necessary may be helpful. The following Hymnals should be carefully examined for hymns not in the Hymnal: Hymns Ancient and

Modern; Church Hymns (published by S. P. C. K.); Lord Selborne's Book of Praise; Irish Church Hymnal; Church of England Hymn Book, by Rev. Godfrey Hering; People's Hymnal; Anglican Hymnal.

In one or other of these Hymnals will be found very nearly all the best hymns. There are, of course, a large number of Hymnals, and some of them popular ones, not on the above list, and it may occasion wonder that the following are not included: Bickersteth's Hymnal Companion; Barnby's Hymnary; Mercer's Church Psalter and Hymn Book.

These books seem to me to be selections of poetry (beautiful, no doubt) set to music, rather than hymn-books. The hymns they do contain will in the main be found in those first quoted.

In addition to these the following books may be consulted with advantage: *The Sunday at Home* for 1887; it contains a series of articles on English and other hymns. *Anglican Hymnology*, by Rev. J. King, London, 1885. *Christian Hymns and Hymn Writers*, by J. E. Prescott, Cambridge, 1886.

The books named of course would not by any means exhaust the subject, but a thorough knowledge of their contents would furnish an amount of hymnological information which would be no mean equipment for the compiler of a Hymnal such as the Church really needs.

JAS. WARRINGTON.

V.

TO answer the question, How the Hymnal can best be improved, is not easy, unless the reply be given that it should be utterly discarded and a new collection be made altogether on different lines. And this I believe to be the only method by which a satisfactory Hymnal can be obtained. The present book has been so thoroughly discredited that it is useless to attempt to mend it, for with all the patching that may be put on it, it will still be only a makeshift. I can not understand the principle—or lack of it—upon which the book was compiled. Many of the hymns are not hymns at all, but merely pious musings in verse. The poetical merit of many is indiscernible to the eye of the most indulgent critic. The compositions of acknowledged hymnists of ability have been

often so altered and cut down that their authors would not recognise them. The classification is diffuse and inadequate, and the hymns for the greatest of all the offices of worship—the Holy Communion—are meager in quantity and poor in quality. It really seems as though the great Catholic hymns of antiquity had been deliberately omitted.

But to come more definitely to the point, I give it as my opinion, that the compilers of a new Hymnal should rigidly omit all those hymns which are only sentimental musings in verse, pious platitudes, and emotional subjectiveness. The book is to be a book for public worship, not private delectation. Think of a congregation united for worship singing:

Prayer is the soul's sincere desire
Uttered or unexpressed !

Of course it is; but there is no element of worship in singing about it. Public worship demands hymns of an objective character, which shall voice the aspirations of a congregation of worshipers. It was S. Augustine, I think, who said that a hymn was a composition of praise to GOD, which was sung, and if it did not contain that element, whatever else it might be, it was no hymn. Judged by that rule the majority of the hymns in the Hymnal are not hymns.

Then, too, should be omitted all metrical versions of the Psalms. We have the noble English version of the entire Psalter in our Prayer Books, which we sing at Morning and Evening Prayer, and all metrical versions are entirely superfluous. And even if it were not so, the versions of Tate and Brady are utterly indefensible on the score of poetic merit. And yet our Hymnal is burdened with seventy of the useless and meretricious compositions.

Next leave out most of the hymns of Watts, Montgomery, Doddridge, Cowper, and the other eighteenth century writers. Many of them are unsuitable to present day needs, and contain or imply matters of doctrine which are not held by the Church, while a large proportion of those unimpeachable on the score of doctrine are puerile as poetry.

The omission of these would leave only a respectable remnant. To fill the required number would be easy. First draw largely on the ancient Greek and Latin hymns, which never wear out. They are available in the admirable versions

of Neale, Chandler, and others. These hymns more than any modern compositions breathe the spirit of devout worship. No subjective emotionalism mars them, but they are truly hymns of praise addressed to GOD in one of the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity. Then the sacred poets of the present day will give us abundant material. Bishop Heber, Bishop Wordsworth, Bishop Bickersteth, Bishop Mow, Dean Milman, Dean Alford, Dean Stanley, Keble, Newman, Faber, Ellerton, Stone, Archer Gurney, Baring Gould, Horatius Bonar (a Scotch Presbyterian but a most Catholic-minded hymnist), Sir H. W. Baker, Mrs. Alexander, Claudia F. Hernemann, Elizabeth Harcourt Mitchell, and many other English writers; Bishop Doane, Bishop Onderdonk, Bishop Coxe, John Anketell, Ray Palmer (a Congregationalist, but a true hymn poet), and others of America will supply us with more than are needed.

I do not believe it to be advisable to increase the number of hymns much over five hundred. That number, if properly selected and appropriately apportioned among the various offices and seasons of the Church will be ample for all needs. The classification should be minute, but some of the classes need contain only one or two. The largest number should be assigned to the Holy Communion, and here there should be also a sub-classification. This office is becoming more and more recognised as the great office of the Church, coming to us from the remotest Catholic antiquity, while the more modern offices of Morning and Evening Prayer are of Roman origin, being condensed from the Breviary. These monkish offices are rightly considered as a preparation only for the great Act of Worship. Having long usurped the chief place they are now falling back into their proper position, therefore it would be simply a waste of time and space to provide many hymns for them.

The various Christian denominations around us have lately far surpassed us in the field of hymnology, and the reason is easy to find. They have not been bound down to the use of any one book, and consequently a good hymn soon finds a place in their books. The fetters of a rubric or canon do not gall their limbs as they do ours. The Church in England is not so unwise. Liberty is granted, and some congregations use *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, others Bickersteth's *Hymnal Companion*, others still *The Hymnary*, and still others *Church*

Hymns. All of these are good collections, varying somewhat in degrees of Churchmanship. So it should be with us. Let the new Hymnal when it comes out win its way on its own merits. Congregations will gladly unite on one book for the sake of uniformity, if they can do so, and they will even make some concessions in order to be able to do so; but it is absurd to suppose that a Catholic Churchman will be satisfied with the book which will appeal strongly to the "Protestant Episcopalian." To enforce the use of any one hymn book would be to alter the Liturgy in a very important particular. No liturgy, ancient or modern, that I am acquainted with, makes metrical hymn singing obligatory, and should the General Convention make any binding rule in this matter, trouble will at once ensue. One way out of the difficulty will be to omit singing metrical hymns at all, at the liturgical offices, and confine our musical worship to the words of the Prayer Book and the Bible, for the "Protestant Episcopalian" will not sing what the Catholic Churchmen prefers, and the latter will turn with disgust from the sentimental platitudes in which Church doctrine is watered down to its weakest point.

I understand that the Hymnal Committee has finished its labors, and that the report in the shape of a proposed Hymnal is even now in press, to be submitted to the Convention which meets in October. Of course I have absolutely no knowledge of the style or extent of this report, but whatever be the result, one thing is certain—the American Church has grown beyond the leading-strings that were necessary to guide it in its days of infancy, and now demands to be allowed to exercise its own discretion in the matter of these extra-liturgical accompaniments to worship.

The other branch of the question, as to church music, I have left unanswered, as the subject is too important to be treated in the brief space left me.

D. E. HERVEY.

The Quakers in New England.

New England Judged by the Spirit of the Lord. By GEORGE BISHOP. Second edition. London: 1702.

A General History of New England, from the Discovery to MDCLXXX. By the REV. WILLIAM HUBBARD, Minister of Ipswich, Mass. Second edition. Boston: 1848.

The History of Massachusetts, from the First Settlement thereof in 1628, until the year 1750. By THOMAS HUTCHINSON, Esq., Late Governor of Massachusetts. Third edition. Salem: 1795.

The Memorial History of Boston, including Suffolk County, Mass., 1630-1880. Edited by JUSTIN WINSOR. Boston: 1880.

The Sufferings of the People Called Quakers. By JOS. BESSE. London: 1753.

A RECENT writer of great learning and ability says of the relations of Quakers and Puritans in the early days of New England:

The issue presented seemed to have a resemblance to the mechanical problem of what will be the effect if an irresistible body strikes an immovable body. [*Geo. E. Ellis, in Memorial History of Boston*, vol. i., p. 181.]

The story is a sad one, of misdirected earnestness and zeal on the one side, of mistaken consistency and fidelity to principle, however false, upon the other. We condemn while we admire; we wonder at the steadiness and constancy of both judged and judges, while we regret the tragic results that stained the new commonwealth with innocent blood.

To understand the history of the transactions it is necessary to have a clear idea of the parties engaged. These were the civil authorities of the Colonies in New England, and the enthusiastic followers of George Fox, who styled themselves simply Friends, but who were known by their opponents as Ranters and Quakers.

Besides those who were the real parties in the dispute there were also (as Dr. Holmes has wittily proved is always the case) four others: the Quakers as they appeared to the Puritans, and the Puritans as they appeared to the Quakers, the Quakers

as they imagined themselves, and the Puritans as they existed in their own estimation. Remembering this, we may account for any discrepancies in the accounts of occurrences that meet us in the various partisan statements of the time and in the subsequent histories. The Puritan accounts, whether ancient or modern, tell of the dealings of the Puritans' Puritans with the Puritan conception of Quakers; the Quaker accounts describe the sufferings of the Quakers as they seem to the eyes of their brethren, at the hands of the Puritans as they appeared to them. By both parties the lights are intensified and the shadows deepened, and the result is necessarily an exaggeration if not a caricature. The problem for the historical student is to free himself from these subjective impressions, and ascertain if possible how the real Puritan treated the real Quaker.

The colonial governments which had been established in New England in the first half of the seventeenth century were not, as is frequently assumed, homogeneous and similar, but differed from each other in their political status and to some extent in their political institutions, and very greatly in the spirit which governed and directed them.

Massachusetts had a charter obtained from the Crown and transferred to the Colony by a daring usurpation; Rhode Island a charter granted by the Long Parliament. Plymouth had obtained its territory by purchase from the old Plymouth Company, but had no recognised political existence. Connecticut and New Haven were, to all intents and purposes, independent republics, save for a somewhat doubtful acknowledgment of the supremacy of the King and of the Commonwealth that was his successor. All save Rhode Island were joined together in a federal league for mutual defense against external and internal enemies.

The circumstances of the settlement of the various colonies had been such as to render the colonists extremely tenacious of their own privileges, and extremely jealous of any interference from the other side of the ocean. The people of Massachusetts, especially, lived in constant dread of their much-prized charter being taken away from them by the King from whom it had been obtained, or by the Parliament which considered that it was its province to meddle with and to regulate all things in Heaven and on earth.

It is quite remarkable that the attitude of the Colonies to the home government, during the period of the Commonwealth, no less than in the years which preceded it, was one of jealous suspicion. The charter Colonies feared that their privileges would be interfered with, the self-organised Colonies were in dread of a *quo warranto* or a *scire facias*, which would disclose the irregularity of their organisations or the defectiveness of their titles.

It was in 1656, in the midst of this period of the Commonwealth, that the good people of Massachusetts, who were enjoying a brief season of rest after their troubles with the Baptists and the Antinomians, heard to their horror that they were likely to be visited by those fanatics, of whom they had heard from their brethren in England, and who were known to them by the invidious names of Adamites, Muggletonians, Ranters, and Quakers.

This remarkable body of men, whose history has presented such strange contrasts, of wild enthusiasm and imperturbable stolidity, of fanaticism and quietism, of contempt for the world and its rewards on the one side, and of sordid love of peace and money-getting upon the other, had recently come into being as one of the natural results of the unsettling of religious faiths and practices which had accompanied the political revolution in England. It was a revolt at once from the enforced conformity of the Laudian establishment and from the intolerable spiritual oppression of the Calvinistic divines, whose little fingers, when they came into power, had been broader than the loins of their predecessors. The great Anglican prelates of Charles's reign were unfortunate in the circumstances amidst which their lives were spent. They were liberal and tolerant in theology, and they have been pilloried as bigots; they held an idea of what the Church of England should be, that was Utopian in its comprehensiveness, and they are described by every New England writer of school histories or children's story-books as narrow-minded and the enemies of freedom of thought.

The system proposed by Andrewes and Montague was essentially that of Sir Thomas More: liberality in matters of belief with uniformity in practice and in ritual. The Puritan divines, on the other hand, were despotic in matters of faith and doctrine to a degree rarely equaled in the history of the human

mind, while they insisted upon their right of refusing the system of worship which was established by law in the Church of England, and of choosing for themselves religious ordinances to suit their own tastes and fancies. They did not plead for liberty on the ground that the principle of compulsion in religious matters was wrong and illegitimate, but because the services of the Church of England were in their opinion unscriptural if not idolatrous. The one party was tolerant in doctrine, and despotic, tyrannical if you will, in matters of ritual; the other claimed to be indifferent as to ritual, but was despotic in opinions. The Church, by attempting to regulate public worship, was led in some instances to appear to be persecuting men for doctrinal differences; the Puritans from their zeal for orthodoxy in doctrine became, when the power was placed in their hands, the strictest possible disciplinarians. The tendency of the one party was to subject the Church to the State, and thus make it an instrument of political authority; the other tended to the subjection of the State to the Church, making the civil authority little more than the body by which the edicts of the ministers should be registered, and their decrees should be enforced.

With the early history of Quakerism we have little to do. Its founder, George Fox, was the son of a weaver at Fenny Drayton (or Drayton in the Clay) in Leicestershire. He had been piously brought up by his parents, who were members of the Church of England, and passed a boyhood and youth of singular purity and innocence. When he was growing up to manhood he passed through a period of deep religious depression, and found no help from any of his friends or from the ministers of the parish churches in his neighborhood, who at this time were mainly Presbyterians, or from the newer lights of the rising separatist bodies. One counseled him to have blood let, another to use tobacco and sing psalms, and the poor distracted boy, whose soul was heavy with a sense of the wrath of GOD, found no comfort from any of them. A careful study of the Bible made him quick to see the weak points in the systems that surrounded him, and, at last, he found the comfort he sought in the sense of an immediate communion with GOD, and an indwelling of the Spirit of CHRIST within the soul. For a time he led a solitary life, leaving home and friends, and wandering over the country on foot, clothed in

garments of leather, sleeping wherever he could find a lodging and spending whole days sometimes in the hollows of great trees. Soon it was "borne in upon him" that the presence of the Spirit and the inner light was as good a qualification for the office of preacher as that of being a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge, and he began his public ministry about the year 1646.¹

With the externals of Quakerism we are all familiar: the morbid conscientiousness that forbade the use of the common forms of courtesy, the simple dress, the refusal to submit to the authority of magistrates or of priests in matters concerning religion, and the unwillingness to pay them the usual compliments due to their position. The true inner nature of Quakerism, which gave it its strength, was in its abhorrence of forms and formulas, its vigorous protest against any compulsion in matters of either religious thought or religious observance, and, especially, in its consciousness of the need of the Divine presence and its belief in the fulfillment of the Saviour's promise to send His Spirit into the world.

It was a faith for martyrs and enthusiasts, a faith which in its simple earnestness had wonderful power of conviction, but which was especially liable to counterfeits and pretenders, who could delude themselves or others into a belief in their inspiration, and who substituted a wild extravagance for the enthusiasm of the first believers. One can not help regretting that Fox's fate threw him in so uncongenial a century as the seventeenth, and so matter of fact a country as England. Had he

¹ Of those mentioned by Fox by name or parish, one, Nath. Stevens, the rector of Fenny Drayton, was a Presbyterian of some eminence, and was ejected for non-conformity in 1662. So also was Matthew Cradock, the "priest of Coventry," who was a distinguished non-conformist divine. The priest at Mansetter, who advised tobacco and psalm singing, kept his living during the whole period of the Commonwealth, and so may be presumed not to have been a "Churchman" in the commonly received sense of the term. "One Macham," of whom Fox speaks, and who seems to have treated him with more sympathetic kindness than any of others, was a loyal Churchman and was sequestered in 1645, as a penalty for his adherence to the bishop and the king to whom he had sworn allegiance. It is rather surprising to find historians in general, even those who should be better informed, assuming that, because these men were filling the parishes of the Church of England, they were, therefore, Church of England clergymen. The cuckoo is sometimes found in the nests of other birds, much to the disadvantage of its neighbors, but it remains a cuckoo all the same.

been born in Italy in the middle ages, his name might rank with that of Francis of Assisi. The shrewd sense of the Roman Church would have known better than to have driven him into schism, and the Quakers would have been an agency for good in the Church instead of outside of it. But it was impossible to expect comprehensiveness or liberality from the Puritans of the day, all the less because of the abuses and fanatical actions by which Quakerism was parodied and made ridiculous. It was essentially an esoteric religion, and had, in consequence, the great disadvantage of being able to furnish no tests by which the true could be distinguished from the false, those inspired with a genuine religious enthusiasm from the fanatics and pretenders.

Their revolt from all established customs and usages, their disrespect for authority, and the boldness with which they rebuked and disputed with the preacher in the pulpit in the "Steeple House," or justice on the bench, brought them at once into difficulties with the rulers in Church and State, who showed themselves no more tolerant of dissent from their own favorite way of thinking and acting, than the most despotic of all the Anglican prelates. They were imprisoned, fined, beaten and exiled; in 1656, Fox computed that there were seldom less than a thousand Quakers in prison at once. They seemed inspired with a spirit of opposition; wherever they were not wanted there were they sure to go. They visited Scotland and Ireland, the West India Islands and the American Colonies; one woman testified before the Grand Turk at Adrianople, two others were imprisoned by the Inquisition at Malta; one brother visited Jerusalem and bore his testimony against the superstition of the monks, others made their way to Rome, Austria, and Hungary, and a number of them preached their doctrines in Holland and Germany. Such enthusiasm, even in those in whom it was genuine, was very nearly akin to insanity, and in many instances the dividing line was crossed, and the votaries allowed themselves to commit the most grotesque and frequently indecent actions, or to speak most shocking blasphemies and to receive an idolatrous veneration from the silly women who listened to their ravings. The disturbances of the times produced many other bands of fanatics who were frequently confounded with the Quakers, and gave to them the odium of their misdeeds. The Ranters, the Adamites, the

Muggletonians and the Fifth Monarchy Men were all akin to the Quakers in being opposed to the order established by law, and in professing to be guided by an inner light; they differed from them, however, in making their religious fanaticism very often a cloak for secret vice, or for wild plots against the government. The temporary overthrow of the comprehensive Church establishment of the judicious statesmen and reformers of Elizabeth's reign had opened the gates to a flood of irreligion and fanaticism. The ecclesiastical despotism established by the Westminster Assembly was more repugnant to Englishmen than the old Church which had been suppressed, and the condition of England during the Commonwealth in religious matters forms one of the best apologies for the severe reactionary measures that were adopted when the King and the bishops were restored in 1660.

It was in the middle of this period that the episode of Quaker persecutions in New England occurred.

The godly and judicious Winthrop, the statesman, founder, and governor of Massachusetts, had died, sorrowing on his death-bed for the harshness in religious matters into which he had been forced, and in his place was the severe and fanatical Endicott, a man of gloomy intensity of nature, a stern logician, a man who neither asked nor granted mercy. The clergy were fanatically devoted to their religious and political peculiarities, and inferior in wisdom and judgment to the great leaders who had come out from England with the early settlers at the beginning of the colony. Cotton was dead, and succeeded in his office of teacher by John Norton, who differed from his predecessor by the absence of the principal characteristics which had distinguished Cotton: "profound judgment, eminent gravity, Christian candor, and sweet temper of spirit, whereby he could very placidly hear those who differed from him in other apprehensions."—[*Hubbard's History of New England*, p. 553.] Hooker had long since removed to Connecticut, where he had been largely instrumental in founding a commonwealth upon a broader and more liberal basis. Wilson, the first pastor of the church at Boston, was indeed still living, but was a very worthy associate of Endicott and Norton, and distinguished now, as he had always been, rather by his zeal than by either his discretion or his Christian charity.

By a process of successful exclusions and banishments the

community had been rendered tolerably homogeneous, or at least submissive to the theocratical system which had been established. Those who could not survive in the struggle for existence had gone elsewhere to found new commonwealths, all with a greater amount of religious liberty than that of Massachusetts, with the exception perhaps of New Haven, where, however, the severity of the discipline was regulated and directed by the wisdom and the statesmanship of Eaton, the governor.

The first we hear of the Quakers in New England is in an order of the General Court appointing May 14, 1656, as a public day of humiliation, "to seek the face of GOD in behalf of our native country, in reference to the abounding of errors, especially those of the Ranters and Quakers."—[*Mass. Records*, IV. (1), 276].

About two months later a ship arrived from Barbadoes, bringing as passengers two Quaker women, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin. As soon as they arrived in the harbor, the Governor, Deputy Governor, and four assistants met and ordered that the captain of the ship should be compelled to carry them back to Barbadoes; that in the mean time they should be kept in gaol, and the books which they had brought with them should be burned. During imprisonment they were subjected to great indignities and insults at the hands of the brutal gaoler, apparently without warrant, being stripped naked and their bodies examined for witch marks with attending circumstances of great indecency. They were half starved in prison, and then after a detention of about a month they were sent away. No sooner had they gone when another vessel arrived from England bringing eight more, four men and four women, besides one man from Long Island, who had been converted during the voyage. Officers were sent on board the vessel, and they were taken at once to gaol, where they were kept eleven weeks, and then sent back to England despite the protests of the shipmaster. During their detention they were examined before the magistrates, and they increased the abhorrence in which they were held by their rude and contemptuous answers, which gave the authorities a sufficient excuse for keeping them in prison. Their books were burned, and though some pains seems to have been taken to convince them of their errors by argument, it was in vain. One of the

women, Mary Prince by name, made herself particularly obnoxious by the eloquence of her abuse. She reviled the Governor from the window of the prison, denouncing the judgment of GOD upon him, wrote letters to him and to the magistrates of a similar character, and when the ministers attempted to argue with her, she drove them from her as "hirelings, deceivers of the people, priests of Baal, the seed of the serpent, the brood of Ishmael, etc."

While this second batch of Quakers was in prison, the Federal Commissioners were in session, and resolved to propose to the several General Courts that all Quakers, Ranters, and other notorious heretics, should be prohibited coming into the United Colonies, and if any should hereafter come or desire that they should be forthwith secured or removed out of all the jurisdictions.—[*Hazard*, II. 349.] These recommendations were acted upon by all the General Courts at their next sessions, by Connecticut, October 2, 1656, Massachusetts, October 14, 1656, New Haven, May 27, 1657, Plymouth, June 3, 1657.

In Massachusetts, the action of the General Court was most decided and severe. Shipmasters who brought Quakers into the jurisdiction were to be fined one hundred pounds, and to give security for the return of such passengers to the port from which they came. Quakers coming to the colony were to be "forwith committed to the House of Correction, and at their entrance to be severely whipped, and by the master thereof to be kept constantly to work, and none suffered to converse or speak with them during the time of their imprisonment." A fine of five pounds was imposed upon the importation, circulation or concealment of Quaker books; persons presuming "to defend the heretical opinions of the said Quakers" should be fined two pounds for the first offense, four pounds for the second, for the third offense should be sent to the House of Correction till they could be conveniently sent out of the Colony; and "what person or persons soever should revile the officer or person of magistrates or ministers as was usual with the Quakers, should be severely whipped, or pay the sum of five pounds." [*Mass. Records*, IV. (1), 277].

It was not long before the law was put into operation. The first cases were Ann Burden and Mary Dyer. They were imprisoned, and after two or three months Burden, after having

all of her little property taken from her in fines and gaol charges, was sent back to England, and Dyer delivered to her husband the Secretary of Rhode Island, upon his giving security "not to lodge her in any town in the Colony nor to permit any to speak with her."

Mary Clarke, however, who had come from England "to warn these persecutors to desist from their iniquity" was whipped, receiving twenty stripes with a whip of three cords, knotted at the ends. Charles Holden and John Copeland, who had been sent away the year before, returned to the Colony and were whipped thirty stripes apiece and imprisoned, and Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick were imprisoned and fined for harboring them.

Richard Dowdney, who arrived from England to bear his testimony, was scourged and imprisoned, and, together with Holden and Copeland, was reshipped to England.

The authority now thought that their laws were too lenient, and in October, 1657, they were made more rigorous. The fine for entertaining Quakers was increased to forty shillings an hour, and any Quaker returning into the jurisdiction after being once punished, if a man, was to lose one ear, and on a second appearance, to lose the other. If he appeared a third time his tongue was to be bored through with a red-hot iron. Women were to be whipped for the first and second offenses, and to have their tongues bored upon the third.—[*Mass. Records*, IV. (1), 308.] In May of the following year, a penalty of ten shillings was laid upon every one who was present at a Quaker meeting, and five pounds upon any one speaking at such meeting.

In spite of these severe enactments the Quakers returned, and the more they were persecuted, the more appeared to be ready to aspire to the distinction of martyrdom. Holden, Copeland and John Rouse, in 1658, had their right ears cut off, but the magistrates were afraid of the effect upon the people of a public execution of the law, and hence inflicted the penalty in private, inside the walls of the prison, in spite of the protest of the unfortunates, after which they were again flogged and dismissed. In October, 1658, a further step was taken in accordance with the advice of the Federal Commissioners, who met in Boston in September, and the penalty of death was threatened upon all who, after being banished from

the jurisdiction under pain of death if they returned, should again come back. Massachusetts was the only colony to take this step, which indeed was carried in the meeting of the Commissioners by her influence against the protest of Winthrop of Connecticut; and the measure was passed by a bare majority of the General Court after long debate, and with the express proviso that trial under this act should be by special jury, and not before the magistrates alone.

Captain Edward Hutchinson and Captain Thomas Clark, men whose names should be remembered, desired leave to enter their dissent against the law. The Court was urged on to this unfortunate action by a petition from twenty-five of the citizens of Boston, among whom we find the name of John Wilson, the Pastor of the First Church. These represented that the "incurribleness" of the Quakers after all the means that had been taken was such "as by reason of their malignant obdurities, daily increaseth rather than abateth our fear of the Spirit of Muncer and John of Leyden renewed, and consequently of some destructive evil impending," and asked whether the law of self-preservation did not require the adoption of a law that would enable them to punish them with death [*Mass. Archives*, Vol. X. p. 246]. In order to justify their action the Court ordered that there should be "a writing or declaration, drawn up and forthwith printed to manifest the evils of the teachings of the Quakers and danger of their practices, as tending to the subversion of religion, of church order, and civil government, and the necessity that this government is put upon for the preservation of religion and their own peace and safety, to exclude such persons from among them, who after due means of conviction should remain obstinate and pertinacious. [*Mass. Records*, IV. (1), 348]. This declaration was composed by John Norton and printed at public expense under a very long title, the first clause of which is *The Heart of New England Rent at the Blasphemies of the Present Generation*.

The rulers of the Colony had now committed themselves to a position from which they could not recede without loss of dignity and which they could not enforce without a great deal of obloquy. They evidently were under the impression that the mere passage of the law would be enough, and that they would never be obliged to proceed to the last extremity.

But they miscalculated the perseverance and enthusiasm of the men with whom they had to deal, and were soon involved in a conflict of will from which there seemed to them to be no escape except by putting the law into effect. It would have been better for them to have heeded the wise advice that they had already received from Rhode Island, whose magistrates had replied to one of the former communications of Massachusetts requesting their co-operation in restrictive measures against the Quakers, in these remarkable words :

We have no law among us, whereby to punish any for only declaring by words, etc., their minds and understandings concerning the things and ways of GOD, as to salvation and an eternal condition. And we, moreover, find that in those places where these people aforesaid in this Colony are most of all suffered to declare themselves freely, and are only opposed by arguments in discourse, there they least of all desire to come. And we are informed that they begin to loathe this place, for that they are not opposed by the civil authority, but with all patience and meekness are suffered to say over their pretended revelations and admonitions. Nor are they like or able to gain many here to their way. Surely, we find that they delight to be persecuted by civil powers : and when they are so, they are like to gain more adherents by the conceit of their painful sufferings than by consent to their pernicious sayings. [*Rhode Island Records*, I. 377.]

The law was passed in October, 1658, and at first it seemed to have accomplished its object. The first six Quakers who were banished, after it had been put in force, went away and made no attempt to come back ; but in June, 1650, four, who were more resolute and determined, appeared in Boston with the avowed intention of defying the law. They were William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, Nicholas Davis and Mary Dyer. They were arrested and sentenced to banishment, September 12, with the threat that they should suffer death if they remained or returned to the Colony. Nicholas Davis and Mary Dyer "found freedom to depart ;— but the other two were constrained in the love and power of the LORD not to depart, but to stay in the jurisdiction, and to try the bloody law unto death." They withdrew to the New Hampshire settlements, but in about four weeks returned to Boston prepared to die, and were joined there by Mary Dyer, who had decided to share their fate. They were arraigned

before the General Court, which was then in session, and admitting that they were the persons banished by last Court of Assistants, were sentenced to be hung in a week from that time (October 19). The authorities evidently were afraid of popular sympathy, for they gave orders for a military guard of one hundred men to conduct them to the gallows, while another military force was charged to watch the rest of the town, and the selectmen were instructed to "press ten or twelve able and faithful persons every night to watch the town and guard the prison."

Neither side would yield; the Quakers had come back with the declared purpose of dying for their faith and the principle of religious liberty, the authorities did not dare to withdraw from the position into which they had rashly placed themselves, and the leaders do not seem to have had any desire to do so. They felt that the question of their authority was at stake, and that, if they yielded, their power over the people would be gone. They were willing to claim for themselves and their institutions the protection of the laws of England, but they would not admit any appeal to those laws when they conflicted with the Colonial regulations. They claimed to own the Colony in full sovereignty, in virtue of their charter on the one hand, and their deeds from the Indians on the other, and they argued they had the same right to exclude obnoxious and dangerous persons and to destroy them if they persistently thrust themselves upon them, that a householder has of resisting a burglar or a shepherd of killing the wolves that break into his sheepfold.

It is a great mistake to say that they had come to the Colony from a zeal for religious liberty. What they had come for was to be in a place where they could order religious affairs to suit themselves. As Besse, the Quaker historian, shrewdly remarks, "they appear not so inconsistent with themselves as some have thought, because when under oppression they pleaded for liberty of conscience, they understood it not as the natural and common right of all mankind, but as a peculiar privilege of the Orthodox."

The tragedy was performed on the twenty-seventh day of October, 1659; the prisoners were brought to the gallows by the soldiers, walking hand in hand. They were insulted in their last moments by the bigoted Wilson, and when they tried

to address the people their voices were drowned by the beating of the drums. Robinson and Stevenson died bravely, and Mary Dyer mounted the ladder to meet her fate; her skirts were tied, the rope was about her neck, and she was on the point of being "turned off," when she was released by the magistrates in consideration of the intercession of her son, who had come up from Rhode Island to try to save his mother's life. She unwillingly accepted the grudging gift, and went back to Rhode Island.

The popular feeling was so strong against the magistrates for their severity, that they thought it best to put forth a declaration, in which they argued that their proceedings were justified by the law of self-defense, and by the precedent of the English laws against the Jesuits; and they calmly stated, that what they had done was only to present the point of their sword in their own defence, and that the Quakers who had rushed upon it had become *felones de se*, and that their former proceedings and their mercy to Mary Dyer upon the "inconsiderable intercession" of her son "manifestly evinced that they desired their lives absent rather than their death present."—[*Hubbard's History of New England*, p. 573.]

The bodies of the unfortunate men were treated with indecent brutality, and were buried naked beneath the gallows. Mrs. Dyer remained away for six months, and then the spirit moved her to return once more and die. Her husband wrote to Endicott to beg her life, but without avail. No mercy could be shown her as long as she defied the law. It is said her life was offered her if she would promise to keep out of the Colony henceforth, but she declined to receive the favor. "In obedience to the will of the LORD I came," said she, "and in His will I abide faithful to the death." [June, 1660.]

Meanwhile the prisons and the House of Correction had been the fate of other delinquents, and the gaoler and executioner had had plenty of employment with the scourge. The Southwicks, with their eldest son Josiah, were whipped, fined and imprisoned for withdrawing from the public services and worshipping by themselves, and their two younger children were ordered to be sold for slaves to the West Indies in satisfaction of the fines imposed. W. Shattuck was whipped, fined and imprisoned. Sarah Gibbons and Dorothy Waugh were whipped. Hored Gardner, a woman with a sucking babe, and

a young girl who came into the Colony with her, were scourged with the "three-fold knotted whip, and during her tortures prayed for her persecutors."

William Brand was thrown into the House of Correction, and refusing to work, was beaten constantly by the brutal gaoler with a tarred rope an inch thick. The pathetic record says: "His back and arms were bruised black, and the blood was hanging as in bags under his arms, and so into one was his flesh beaten that the sign of a particular blow could not be seen, for all became as a jelly."—[*Bishop, New England Judged.*]

William Leddra and Rouse, whose ear had been cut off, were ordered to be whipped twice a week with increasing severity until they consented to work, and were at last dismissed from the Colony under pain of death if they returned.

Patience Scott, a girl eleven years old, was imprisoned as a Quaker, but discharged after a period of detention in consideration of her youth, but her mother Catherine Scott, for reproving the magistrates for a deed of darkness, was whipped ten stripes, although she was admitted by them to be otherwise of blameless life and conversation.

Christopher Holden, who in spite of losing his ears in 1658, had returned once more, was banished upon pain of death by the same Court that hanged Mary Dyer. Seven or eight persons were fined, some as high as ten pounds, for entertaining Quakers, and Edward Wharton, for piloting them from one place to another, was ordered to be whipped twenty stripes, and bound to his good behavior. Divers others were then brought upon trial, "for adhering to the cursed sect of Quakers, not disowning themselves to be such, refusing to give civil respect, leaving their families and relations and roaming from place to place vagabonds like"; and Daniel Gold was sentenced to be whipped thirty stripes, Robert Harper fifteen, and they with Alice Courland, Mary Scott and Hope Clifton, banished upon pain of death; William Kingswill whipped fifteen stripes; Margaret Smith, Mary Trask and Provided Southwick ten stripes each, and Hannah Phelps admonished.

In November William Leddra, who had been released, returned, and was at once arrested. On his trial the opportunity of withdrawal was again extended, but he refused to accept it, and was executed March 1, 1661. As he ascended the ladder

he was heard to say: "All that will be CHRIST'S disciples must take up the cross," and, just as he was being thrown from its rounds, he cried in the words of Stephen, "LORD JESUS, receive my spirit." Wenlock Christison, who had been before this sentenced to death, but allowed to leave the Colony, had returned, and during Leddra's trial he came boldly before the Court and told the astonished judges: "I am come here to warn you that ye shed no more innocent blood." He was at once arrested, and was brought up for trial three months later. There was an unusual difference of opinion in regard to the case, and the condemnation was only secured by the violence of Endicott, who browbeat the others into consent. But the sentence they passed was never executed. The people were tired of bloodshed, and the opposition which was shown in the General Court to any further proceedings was so great as to make a change in the law necessary.

The humanity of the delegates to the Court was probably considerably quickened by a sense of the dangerous position in which the Colony stood since the restoration of Charles II, who, they might naturally fear, would call them to an account for their proceedings, especially as the Colony had allowed nearly a year to pass without any recognition of the change in the political situation.

The Court attempted to save its dignity by interposing a still greater number of shameful and unusual punishments between the first offense and the death penalty, and declared that "being desirous to try all means with as much lenity as might consist with safety to prevent the intrusions of the Quakers, who . . . had not been restrained by the laws already provided," they would henceforth order that such intruders should be tied to a cart's tail and whipped from town to town toward the borders of the jurisdiction. Should they return, after being dealt with thus thrice, they were to be branded with the letter R on their left shoulder, and be severely whipped and sent away again at the cart's tail. Should they again return, they were to be liable to the former law of banishment under pain of death.

It is quite possible that this appeared to be lenity to men like Endicott and Norton, but it is to be questioned whether the Quakers so considered it. It did not prevent, though it anticipated, an order from the King directing that any Quakers

imprisoned or under sentence should be released and sent to England for trial. To make this still more galling to the pride of the Colony, it was sent by Samuel Shattuck, a Salem Quaker, who had been banished from the Colony under pain of death if he should return, who, we can not doubt, thoroughly enjoyed his mission and the humiliation of Endicott. For a short time the order was obeyed and then the "lenient" laws were put in force again, and, as many delicately nurtured Quaker women found to their cost, the "tender mercies" of the Saints were cruel. Palfrey remarks, with great gratification apparently, that "no hanging, no branding ever took place by force of this law," but that "under its provisions for other penalties the contest was carried on for a considerable time longer."

It would be wearisome to cite all of the subsequent proceedings; a few of them will suffice to show that the treatment of the Quakers still continued to be extremely severe, and that in spite of it all they persisted in braving the threats of the magistrates. It was not until 1679, when religious toleration was forced against their wills upon the good Christians of Massachusetts, that the Quakers found any safety within the boundaries of the Colony.

In 1661, when the Quakers were set free at the command of the King, some of them were whipped at the cart's tail twenty stripes apiece, on the ground that they were vagabonds.

In 1662, Josiah Southwick, who returned from his banishment, was whipped at the cart's tail in Boston, Roxbury and Dedham, and dismissed into the woods with a warning not to return. The magistrates, apparently, had found that their old style of whipping was too lenient, for the whip used on this and several subsequent occasions was made, not of cord, "but of dried guts like the bass strings of a bass viol," with three knots at each end, a weapon, which, according to contemporary testimony, made holes in the back that one could put a pea into.

In December, 1662, Ann Coleman, Mary Tompkins and Alice Ambrose were stripped to the waist and whipped at the cart's tail in Dover, Hampton and Salisbury, and were forced to walk between the places in slush and snow up to their knees. The "lenient" sentence required indeed that they should be whipped in each town in the jurisdiction, but the

constable at Newbury found some flaw in the warrant by which he was able to release them. On their return to Dover, they were seized by the constables, by night, dragged over snow and stumps to the river, one of them at least was doused in the stream and dragged after a canoe, and they were only released because the storm was too severe for their tormentors to brave. Ann Coleman, again, and four friends were whipped through Salem, Boston and Dedham, and at Dedham the scourge was plied so manfully by the constable that the nipple of one of Coleman's breast was split open, causing most exquisite torture. Elizabeth Hooton, a woman of over sixty years of age, Fox's first convert, was first imprisoned, and then carried two days' journey into the wilderness, "among wolves and bears," and left there to shift for herself. On returning she was kept in a dungeon at Cambridge two days without food, tied to the whipping-post and flogged there, then taken to Watertown, where she was flogged with willow rods, flogged again at Dedham, and then carried into the woods as before. Coming back once more, to fetch her clothes from Cambridge, she and a companion, "an ancient woman," and her daughter were whipped in private, in spite of which we find her coming once more to Boston, and on that occasion she was whipped again at the cart's tail.

Edward Wharton was whipped so frequently that it would take more space than that allotted to a single article, to detail the instances.

Mary Tompkins, Alice Ambrose and Ann Needham also appear again and again in the records of suffering.

In 1665, Deborah Wilson, for going naked through the streets of Salem "for a sign," was whipped; but the constable executed his office so mercifully that he was displaced. There is a pathetic incident in this case mentioned by Bishop, the Quaker historian, that "her tender husband, though not altogether of her way, followed after" as she underwent her punishment, "clapping his hat sometimes between the whip and her back."

Eliakin Wardwell, at Newbury, was fined heavily in 1665, for entertaining Wenlock Christison, and this injustice, in addition to the other cruel acts, so moved upon his wife Lydia, that although a modest and delicate woman, she came naked into the meeting at Newbury, as a testimony against them.

She was seized and hurried away to the court at Ipswich, which sentenced her to be whipped at the nearest tavern post. Besse says:

Here could these persecuting rulers of an ignorant people like those of old complained of by the Prophet Amos "sit at ease, chaunt to the sound of their viols, invent to themselves instruments of music (while the priest, Cobbet by name, diverted them with singing), drink wine in bowls and not be grieved at the afflictions of the righteous." Here the poor young woman was stripped and tied with her naked breasts against the splinters of the posts, and severely lashed with twenty or thirty cruel stripes.

Eliakin her husband, some time after, for vindicating her character, was, by order of the Court at Hampton, bound to a tree and whipped fifteen lashes. In 1675, a law was passed which made it the duty of the constables under heavy penalties to break up all Quaker meetings, and to commit those present to the House of Correction, there to have the discipline of the house and be kept to work at bread and water or else to pay five pounds. In 1677 an order was passed requiring an oath of fidelity to the country, and legal disabilities were imposed upon all who refused the oath. This struck directly at the Quakers, and was believed by them, whether justly or not, to have been made for the purpose of vexing and plundering them.

A vigorous protest against it was made in writing by Margaret Brewster, who came from Barbadoes to bear her testimony against the law, and to declare the evils that were coming upon the Colony. Having, as she declared, "a foresight given of that grievous calamity called the Black Pox, which afterwards spread there to the cutting off of many of the People. Wherefore she was constrained in a prophetic manner to warn them thereof, by entering into their publick assembly clothed in sackcloth and ashes, and with her face made black."

For this, she and four of her friends were arrested and cast into prison upon the charge of "making a horrible disturbance, and affrighting the people in the South Church in Boston in the time of the public dispensing of the Word whereby several women . . . are in danger of miscarrying." She was whipped at the cart's tail twenty lashes, and the young women who

were with her were forced to accompany her during her punishment. Twelve Quakers, who were arrested the same day, at a Quaker meeting, were whipped, and fifteen the week following.

In the other Colonies the sufferings of the Quakers were not so severe, though in Plymouth they had to endure banishment, fines and whippings. In Connecticut, thanks probably to the wisdom of John Winthrop, the only cases which occurred were met with banishment, and the Quakers seem to have respected the jurisdiction where they were mercifully treated. In New Haven there were several prosecutions; Southold on Long Island seems to have been the place most frequented by the Quakers, though they also appeared in Greenwich. The only case of extreme severity was that of Humphry Norton, who had already borne his torturing in Massachusetts, where he had enraged the magistrates by his appeal to the laws of England. He was arrested at Southold and taken to New Haven, where he was "cast into Prison and chained to a Post, and kept night and day for the space of twenty Days with great Weights of Iron in an open Prison without Fire or Candles in the bitter cold Winter (December, 1657), enough (reasonably) to have starved him," as Bishop writes. When he attempted to reply to Davenport in the Court, he was not suffered to speak, but was gagged with "a great Iron Key, tied athwart his mouth." After his trial was over he was whipped thirty stripes and branded H in the hand. Several who sympathised with or who entertained Quakers were punished with heavy fines. In New Netherlands they fared little better, and in Virginia the much-flogged Mary Tompkins and Alice Ambrose found little mercy from the Cavaliers, being put in the pillory and whipped with a cat-of-nine-tails so severely that blood was drawn by the very first stroke.

I have given these instances as nearly as possible in the language of the contemporary Quaker historian, George Bishop, whose facts have never been questioned. The magistrates of New England, as a rule, defended their action, as we have seen, as necessary to the maintenance of their authority, and the preservation of order and orthodoxy, and their conduct has been extenuated and excused, if not actually defended, by modern New England historians.

It is not a pleasant history, but there is something to be said

upon the side of the authorities. They had not come to New England for liberty of thought, but for liberty of action. They had failed, as they thought at the time, to secure the triumph of Puritanism in the Church and State of England, so they preferred to leave the struggle and come to New England, where they could live under their own system, without being obliged to contend or suffer for their faith in England, a point upon which the Quaker controversialists make some very sharp remarks.

They considered the territory which they held to be their own *peculium*, and believed that by their Charter they had acquired absolute sovereignty in its limits subject to no appeal to England. They realised that if appeal to England was granted their absolute authority was at an end. As Major General Denison is reported to have said: "If we admit appeal to the Parliament this year, next year they will send to see how it is, and the third year the government is changed." The settlement, also, had in their eyes a religious character; it was founded, as they boasted, for religion and not for trade, and they held that they had a right to dictate the religious usages and practices therein, as was shown by their treatment of Mrs. Hutchinson and Wheelwright, Roger Williams and Gorton, Child and Maverick, not to mention Morton of Merry Mount. They believed the Quakers to be a pernicious sect, they confounded them with other fanatical bodies which they resembled, and they feared that the natural consequences of the claim they made to immediate revelation would be communistic attempts at the overthrow of the established order, such as had been seen a hundred years before in Germany. From these premises the conclusion was a natural one, that their duty was to nip the evil in the bud, to crush the Quakers before they became strong enough to be dangerous to the State. Their action in banishing the first that arrived, before any overt acts were committed, was undoubtedly technically illegal, but if the Quakers had been in reality what they fancied them, no one would have blamed them for their prompt decision. Besides, they had a law by which they were accustomed to banish heretics, and the Quakers might very well come under that description.

As regards the compelling shipmasters to carry them back to the port from which they had come, such a custom had pre-

vailed from a very early date in the case of undesirable immigrants. Winthrop, in his Journal [p. 78], mentions the re-shipping to England of a crazy pauper woman, whom the parish of Willesden had sent over to the colonists in Massachusetts. The Quakers came in spite of banishment, and the more they were imprisoned and beaten the more daring became their defiance, the more violent became their abuse. They spared neither priest nor magistrate, and the floods of billingsgate which they poured out were portentous. It is not to be wondered at, that a stern and severe people, living a hard and cruel life of constant struggle with the elements, and in the constant dread lest their privileges should be assailed, should have been cruel in their treatment of these incorrigible offenders.

It was a cruel age. The Quakers in England were treated very little better by either the Puritans in the time of the Commonwealth or by the Anglicans after the Restoration, and, as we have seen, the Dutch in New Amsterdam, and the Churchmen in Virginia were very little more merciful than the rulers of Massachusetts.

Judged by the common standard of the age, the cruelty of the treatment of the Quakers is not so remarkable as to be singled out above all other cruelties for reprobation. The Quakers themselves were cruel at times. George Fox himself was a witch finder, and a son of the Samuel Shattuck, who bore the King's mandate to Endicott, appears in the Salem witchcraft trials as a prominent witness against some of the unfortunates. The folly and fatuity of the treatment adopted is more of a point to notice. In the Colonies where the Quakers were let alone they caused no trouble. Palfrey's sneer, that there was no order to disturb in Rhode Island, may be justified, perhaps, as regards that Colony, but Connecticut certainly was a well-ordered Commonwealth. In Massachusetts, on the contrary, the same persons kept coming again and again, and the severer the punishments the madder became their actions. It should be remembered that the acts usually mentioned as justifying the Puritans' severity, such as the performances of the naked women at Salem and Newbury, of the men who broke the bottles on the pulpit steps, and of the woman who smeared her face with black and affrightened the matrons in the old South Church, were not committed until after the persecution

had been carried on for years, until scores of women had been stripped naked by the authorities and flogged, until men had had their ears cut off, and until three men and one woman had been put to death upon the gallows. The persecution was a blunder, and the details of it made it a blunder of the most atrocious description. Power was put into the hands of local and irresponsible magistrates to sentence men and women to these shameful and unusual punishments, and brutal constables and gaolers were entrusted with the enforcement of the law without any due supervision. The most painful part of the whole history is the attitude of the Puritan clergy, in Massachusetts especially. They were bitter and bigoted, and hounded on the magistrates to their cruel work, and insulted the unfortunate wretches when they came to suffer. Quaker instinct rightly, no doubt, fixed upon John Norton as the "Fountain and Principal unto whom most of the cruelty and bloodshed is to be imputed."—[Bishop, *New England Judged*, p. 67.]

For the constancy of the Quakers themselves, their endurance, and their fortitude, one can feel nothing but admiration. One remembers how, centuries before, the men who like them were willing to die rather than to deny their faith were called the enemies of mankind, and accused of a perverse and execrable superstition. Yet it must be admitted that their behavior was often of a kind that would not be allowed to-day any more than it was then, although it is to be hoped that our modern statecraft would find milder and more efficient means of repression than did our predecessors in New England; yet when one remembers how the Mormons were treated in Illinois and Missouri, and how the mob destroyed the Roman Catholic convent in Somerville, Mass., within the memories of living men, we may think it perhaps prudent not to be too sweeping in our condemnations.

The fundamental difficulty in the Puritans' position was their illegal and unconstitutional government. To maintain that, they were led to deny to other Englishmen their rights, and to assert an independence of the home authorities which was little short of actual separation.

The second evil principle in their government was the union of Church and State, or rather the subjection of the State to the Church, a Church moreover in which the people had no

rights except by favor of the ministers, a Church that was a close corporation, and imbued with the spirit of the law of Moses rather than of the Gospel of CHRIST. In Church, as well as in State, there was a consciousness that their existence was illegal and illegitimate, that in spite of their protests to the contrary they had separated from their fellow-Christians in England and had formed a polity for themselves; hence, just as they felt it necessary to manifest their political authority by acts of severity upon any who questioned it, so they deemed it necessary to maintain their orthodoxy by persecuting those who differed from them in religion. They were ill at ease both politically and religiously, and they sought to disguise the fact from themselves, by making proof of all the power they possessed.

And hence it was that the conflict arose which has stained with innocent blood the early history of the land. It is not to be wondered that the Quakers should see, in the horrible death of Endicott and the miserable end of Norton, the hand of an avenging providence, or that they should believe that for twenty miles around the guilty city, the ground was cursed so that no wheat could ripen because of a blood-red blight that fastened upon it. But, we, who live at a time when we can view the history of the struggle with calmness and impartiality, may respect the grim determination of the severe magistrates, who felt it their duty, at whatever cost, to keep that which was committed to their trust, free from the poison of heresy and fanaticism, while we sorrow at the blindness which hid from their eyes the folly and the cruelty of their proceedings. We may sympathise with the tortured Quakers, whom we now know to be harmless enthusiasts, yet without approving or extenuating their mad actions, their abusive language, or their grotesque indecencies.

Both persecuted and persecutors have gone to meet their final judgment, and we may believe that, though at enmity in this life, yet

in that world

Where great hearts led astray are turned again,

they now are able to respect each other's loyalty of purpose, and fidelity to their respective conceptions of truth.

NOTE.—Two noteworthy volumes upon early Massachusetts history have lately appeared which deal fully with the subject of the preceding essay:

The Emancipation of Massachusetts, by Brooks Adams, and *The Puritan Age and Rule in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, by Rev. Geo. E. Ellis, D.D., who has long been known and respected as an authority in early Colonial history. Mr. Adams' work is polemical in its character, and is extremely severe upon the Puritan ministers. Dr. Ellis approaches the subject with more moderation, and with less horror and compunction for the sins of his ancestors. The attitudes of the two authors remind the reader of the different positions taken by Judge Sewall and Chief Justice Stoughton, respectively, after the awakening from the witchcraft delusion: one deeply penitent, and anxious to do penance for the harm that had been done; the other regretting the error, but acquitted by his conscience from willful wrong-doing. The Quaker side of the controversy has also recently been presented with a great deal of force, not to say bitterness, by Mr. R. Price Hallowell, in *The Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts* [Boston, 1883], and *The Pioneer Quakers* [Boston, 1887]. The subject has also been presented with some fullness by Mr. J. A. Doyle, in the second volume of his *English Colonies in North America*, which has recently appeared.

HENRY FERGUSON.

State Support of Religion in Massachusetts Bay.*

II. THE PROVINCE.

THE growth of the little autonomy which had begun to flourish in the Bay received a sudden check when the Colony became the Province. A comparison of the respective charters of the two governments illustrates the reason of this with sufficient distinctness. The neglected and remote Colony had been allowed, during more than sixty years, to develop a life and character of its own, the foundation of its future independent spirit; it was now made to feel that it was but a part, and an insignificant one, of a larger national life, and the feeling must have been regarded at least with some impatience.

Now, had not Divine Providence otherwise directed, might the Church of England by wise policy have won back those who had so lately parted from her; but from the time of Laud

* NOTE.—The author regrets that the haste with which the first part of this article was prepared for the printer renders needful the following corrections in the July [1888] number of the REVIEW: P. 49, 10th line—for *Paragraph* read *Parish*; p. 52, 16th line—for *censuses* read *censures*; p. 55, 13th line from the bottom—for *without* read *with*; 8th line from bottom—for *Parker, C. T.* read *Parker, C. J.*; p. 64, 9th line—insert *the* between *suspending* and *printing*; last line of article—strike out comma after *heretics*.

to the present that Church has never had a policy worthy of the name, and for many a year she was herself to be oppressed to the verge of dissolution. Condemned to struggle first with the treachery of the later Stuarts, then with the almost hostility of their great successor, and lastly with the heavy indifference of the Guelphs—perhaps but one English monarch from Charles I to Victoria can be said to have been her friend. A poor little bishopless fragment of the Church was allowed to grow in the Province, regarded with suspicion by the Independents,¹ and doomed to be hated in the far future, when the name of England came to be hated in the last Provincial days. The Anglicans, with the Anabaptists and Quakers, were tolerated, the Independent form of worship still remained established.

The parochial organisation of the Bay under the new rule was in principle quite as simple as formerly. Each municipality was supposed to be a parish, but there now began more clearly to appear the difference between parochial and municipal functions, as also the inevitable distinction between the parish and the "church."

The laws relating to the support of religion, during the eighty-five years of the Provincial government fall, most of them, under one or the other of the heads following:

I. Laws providing for the support of ministers of the established religion.

II. Laws providing for the support of ministers of the Church of England.

III. Exemption laws in favor of Anabaptists and Quakers.

The general provisions of many of these statutes remained in force long after the termination of the English rule.

Besides the above there was a law against the Jesuits [*Acts and Res. Mass. B.*,² vol. i., p. 423] of equal stringency with the Colonial enactment, perhaps much needed at a time when the power of France hemmed in the feeble English settlements on the North and West, and when her popish missionaries

¹ It might amuse a satirist to note that the impression that the Church of England was a compromise between popery and dissent still lingers among the descendants of the "orthodox" in the Bay, as it obtained among their ancestors.—*Ellis: Puritan Age and Rule*, pp. 78, 117.

² The edition referred to is *The Acts and Resolves, Public and Private, of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay*. 5 vols., 1869-1886. Boston.

might very reasonably be suspected of using their influence with the Indians for political ends. This law, passed in 1700, appears to have remained in force until the adoption of the Constitution.

I. A very brief but clear summary of most of the statutes referred to in this division of the article is given by Judge Sewall in the case of *Dillingham v. Snow*, 3 *Mass. R.*, 276, 280. The first and principal enactment, which contained the essence of all that followed it, was the Act 4 W. & M., c. 11 [Laws 1692-3, ch. 26; *Acts & Res. Mass. B.*, vol. i., p. 62], "for the Settlement and Support of Ministers and Schoolmasters." All subsequent laws to the same effect being but amendments or extensions of this one—which was itself an evolue of the yet more remote Colonial ordinances—it is worth while to examine its provisions carefully.

It begins with the enactment, "That the inhabitants of each town within the province shall take due care, from time to time, to be constantly provided of an able, learned, orthodox minister or ministers, of good conversation, to dispense the Word of GOD to them; which minister or ministers shall be suitably encouraged and sufficiently supported and maintained by the inhabitants of such town." It may be interesting to compare with this provision that of the State Law of 1799, ch. 87, § 2—"every corporate town, parish, precinct, district, and other body politic or religious society aforesaid, is hereby required to be constantly provided with a public Protestant teacher of piety, religion, and morality." The Commonwealth did not publicly forsake its religion until 1833.

The first section of the Provincial Act goes on to confirm orders and agreements made for ministerial support, and to provide that in case of neglect on the part of any town to make suitable provision for its clergy, the same should be assessed and levied on the inhabitants by the Court of Quarter Sessions³ on complaint, and the court was to fix the allowance. The second section gives the court power to procure and settle a minister and to compel his support, in case of any town continuing destitute of a minister for six months and neglecting the order of the court to procure one. The

³ The Court of Quarter Sessions was the county court of criminal jurisdiction, and was to be held quarterly "by the justice of the peace of the same county." It was altered to General Sessions of the Peace in 1699.

third section, confirming the privileges of the churches,⁴ is only remarkable as having preserved its almost identical wording through all successive re-enactments down to the present corresponding law—*Public Statutes Mass.*, ch. 38, § 3. The fourth section provides that the minister chosen by a majority "of the inhabitants of any town, at a town meeting duly warned for that purpose, . . . shall be the minister of such town; and the whole town shall be obliged to pay towards his settlement and maintenance, each man his several proportion thereof."

This last provision was promptly repealed by the eighth and ninth sections of the Act 4 & 5 W. & M., c. 20, of the following year, [*Acts & Res. Mass. B.*, vol. i., p. 102] allowing each respective "gathered church" in any town to choose a minister, though it must apparently be—for the language used is somewhat obscure—with the concurrence of a majority of the inhabitants who were church-goers, and who were compelled to contribute ratably towards the minister's support. Comparing this section with the fourth section of the Act 4 W. & M., c. 11, we perceive that the repealing act differs from the original—1. In making the minister eligible by any gathered church instead of any town; 2. In making the vote of the town merely confirmatory of the church's choice; 3. In confirming the right of voting to such townsmen as "do usually attend on the publick worship of GOD." Between these two enactments there had apparently grown up in the legislative mind a distinction and an important one,—the towns of the Massachusetts Bay could no longer be considered "churches" also; the political unit was discovered to be compound. But that a parish or gathered church was long considered to be a distinct portion of territory is shown by a case which came before the House of Representatives more than forty years after [*Acts & Res. Mass. B.*, vol. i., p. 108], wherein it was decided that persons dwelling without the "town, place, or precinct" where the church was, had no voice in the election of a pastor, even though in communion with such church.

The ninth section of the Act 4 & 5 W. & M., c. 20, contains

⁴ By these privileges are probably meant the "Liberties the LORD JESUS hath given to the Churches." They are too long for insertion here, but may be found in the *Mass. Hist. Collections*, 3 series, vol. viii., p. 234.

the important exception that its provisions are not "to extend to abridge the inhabitants of Boston of their accustomed way and practice as to the choice and maintenance of their ministers."

By the tenth section of the act last referred to it was further provided that in the case of towns having no gathered church the minister should be chosen as in the fourth section of the previous act, by a majority vote of the ratable inhabitants; but it was to be "*with the advice of three neighboring ordained ministers.*" Apparently, orthodoxy was not so universal among the inhabitants as formerly. That even this provision received further modification we shall presently see. The eleventh section of the act gives authority to the Court of Quarter Sessions, upon complaint of the negligence of any town in its support of a minister, to summon and fine the selectmen or other persons having charge in the matter; thereby taking from the court the larger power of themselves supplying the deficiency.

It may not be out of place here to advert to the persistence with which a parish and a municipality were confounded for many years, even after the establishment of the Commonwealth. Not a few important cases in the Reports arose from the difficulty felt in distinguishing clearly between their powers and disabilities. So late as 1804 an action was brought against the assessors of a parish to recover the amount of a distinctly municipal tax assessed upon the plaintiff. [Bangs v. Snow, 1 Mass R. 181]. And still later in 1812 a parish meeting was called in Sandwich by warrant notifying "the inhabitants of said town, qualified by law to vote in town meetings, to assemble at the usual place of holding parish meetings, to take into consideration the situation of said parish, and to consider the expediency of obtaining a dissolution of the ministerial connection of the Rev. Jonathan Burr and the *first precinct* in said town." The constable returned that he had notified the inhabitants of the *parish*. The confusion of ideas in his pre-

^s "Without multiplying authorities, we take it to be perfectly well established as matter of history, that the inhabitants of Boston never were compellable by law to pay taxes for the support of public worship; that all religious societies were formed by voluntary association of those generally entertaining similar religious views in faith and practice."—Shaw, C. J., in *Atty. General v. Federal St. Meeting Ho.*, 3 Gray, 39.

cept is somewhat remarkable. [*Burr v. First Par. in Sandwich*, 9 Mass. 277.]

Less than three years after the statute last referred to, was passed the Act 7 W. 3, c. 9 [*Acts & Res. Mass. B.* vol. i, p. 216], and though short, its modifications of former laws are important, so it is excusable to quote its exact language :

When at any time a church shall make choice of a minister, and present their choice unto the inhabitants of the town or precinct in a publick meeting duely warned and assembled for that purpose, to have their concurrence therein, and the inhabitants so assembled shall by a major vote deny their approbation of the churche's choice, the church may call in the help of a council consisting of the elders and messengers of three or five neighboring churches, which council are hereby impowered to hear, examine and consider the exceptions and allegations made against the churche's election ; and in case the council shall notwithstanding approve of the said election, such minister accepting of the choice and settling with them shall be the minister of the town or precinct, who shall be in all respects supported and maintained as by the said act is provided ; but if otherwise, the church shall proceed to the election of another minister.

By this enactment the right of electing their preachers may be considered to have practically passed away from the towns.

In 1702 a change was made in the method of collecting parish taxes by the Act 1 Ann. c. 3. [*Acts & Res. Mass. B.*, vol. i., p. 505.]⁶ This provided that the Court of General Sessions of the Peace (which had succeeded to the powers of the Court of Quarter Sessions) should, on complaint of the negligence of a town to supply itself with a minister or to properly maintain one, in addition to the fine imposed upon the selectmen, appoint "three or more sufficient freeholders within the same county," to act as assessors of parish rates. This board of assessors was not required to collect—that task being performed by the constable under warrant from two justices, to whom the assessors were to submit their assessment list. The second section of the act gives the inhabitants of each precinct authority to appoint a parish clerk and assesors and to collect their own parish taxes. In case of the neglect or refusal of

⁶ It appears that the Bishop of London objected to the confirmation of this act ; but I cannot find that it was ever disallowed—[*Acts & Res. Mass. B.*, vol. i., p. 508].

the assessors to perform their duty, the selectmen of the town were authorized to assess. This statute completed the organisation of the parish as it remained during the provincial administration.

About this time apparently a general neglect or carelessness in parochial duties began to make itself felt, for recourse was had to the legislature to enforce them. In the fifth year of Queen Anne's reign was passed—and the title is significant—“An Act for Maintaining and Propagating Religion.” [*Acts and Res. Mass. B.*, vol. i., p. 597.] It provides, 1. That the Court of General Sessions in any county shall, at each sitting, charge the grand jury to present all such towns and districts as are either destitute of ministers or negligent in their support. 2. That upon such presentment the court “are vigorously to put the laws in execution for the redressing of all defects and neglects of that kind, and forthwith to make the necessary orders to that end”; and in case of disobedience or evasion of their orders the court are to report their proceedings to the next session of the legislature. 3. That upon such report the legislature “shall take effectual care to provide and send an able, learned orthodox minister, of good conversation, to every such town or district that are destitute, and also provide for his honourable support and maintenance.” . . . “and so in like manner for the support and maintenance of ministers in such towns or districts that neglect to fulfill and perform the contract and agreement made with their ministers; and shall also proceed after the same manner to supply and support a minister in places that are destitute when the justices neglect their duty to take care thereof.”

The above act was to continue in force for three years. But, however effectual it may have proved, in 1715 it was re-enacted in the same terms, except that the General Court in its selection of a minister for a town having none were to be guided by the recommendation of “three or more of the settled ordained ministers.” The last act was limited to seven years' duration.

In 1718 was passed the Act 4 Geo. I. c. 1 [*Acts and Res. Mass. B.*, vol. ii. p. 99], intended as an amendment to the Act 1 Ann. c. 3, for the appointing of parish assessors. This law gave the assessors, and in case of their neglect the selectmen of the town, power to assess any parish for the erection

or repair of its meeting-house, provided the requisite sum was appropriated at a regular parish meeting. Parishes or precincts were also empowered to elect standing committees. In the second paragraph of the statute occurs a provision which indicates the breaking-up of the towns into separate parishes, and the difficulties felt in deciding their precedence. "In all such towns where there are or shall hereafter be one or more districts or precincts regularly set off, the remaining part of such town shall be, and are, hereby deemed, declared and constituted an entire perfect district, parish or precinct (and the first or principal of said town)," and was further to have all the powers of a complete and independent parish. The clause above-quoted was re-enacted in almost the same terms by Act 1786, ch. 10, §5.—[*Metcalf's Laws*, vol. i., p. 264.]

The next three acts under this head in their order all refer to the calling of parish meetings. By that of 1723-4, ch. 14 [*Acts and Res. Mass. B.*, vol. ii. p. 306], any justice, on petition of at least five freeholders of a parish, might issue a warrant to one of them for the assembling of such meeting requiring him to give fourteen days' notice by public posting to the qualified voters in town affairs. At the meeting might be chosen a moderator, clerk, and a committee for calling future meetings. By the following acts of 1731-2, ch. 10, and 1733-4, ch. 4 [*Acts and Res. Mass. B.*, vol. ii. pp. 617, 587], in case of the death or refusal to act of a majority of such committee, or in case it was not elected, a legal meeting might be called by a justice of the county on petition of five or more freeholders, as in the Act of 1723-4, ch. 14. The assessors were to be sworn by the parish clerk, who at first was himself required to be sworn by a justice, but afterwards the moderator of the meeting was authorised to administer the oath.

In new settlements the power of enforcing contracts for the support of the ministry was vested in the Court of General Sessions, by the Act of 1750-51, ch. 21. The court was allowed, if needful, to appoint assessors, to determine the amount due under the contract, and to issue a warrant for its collection. In case timely payment of their due should be withheld from the minister the court might summon the collectors and assessors and admonish them of their duty,—they were also liable to a fine on conviction of negligence. This law, to remain in force for five years, was twice continued by Acts of

1756-7, ch. 7, and of 1761-2, ch. 41, each time for about the same period, and seems to have been passed to meet some special exigencies,—perhaps at the request of the Governor that the condition of the country pastors might be inquired into. [See the memorandum dated Feb. 3, 1747; *Acts and Res. Mass. B.*, vol. iii. p. 561.]

However the plan of a general assessment of the property of the inhabitants of a parish may have worked, a more convenient method, especially in the larger towns, was found in the now time-honored but abominable system of assessing pews, which appears to have been first introduced in Salem and Newbury by the Act of 1751-52, ch. 19 [*Acts and Res. Mass. B.*, vol. iii. p. 604]. The pews were to be valued according to convenience of location, and any proprietor neglecting to pay his assessment twenty days after notice from the collector was liable to have his pew sold. Thus for the first time in its history an inhabitant of the Bay might be turned out of his meeting-house for failure to pay a tax. The legislature seems to have felt that such enactments were against precedent, for at first assessments on pews were allowed only by special acts.

A very important statute, and which should perhaps be treated under a separate head, was that of 28 Geo. II. c. 9 [*Acts and Res. Mass. B.*, vol. iii. p. 778], “for the better securing and rendering more effectual Grants and Donations to Pious and Charitable Uses, and for the better Support and Maintenance of Ministers of the Gospel, and Defraying other Charges relating to the Public Worship.” As the first two sections continue to be in substance the law at the present day, it is allowable to quote them at length.

§ 1. The deacons of all the several Protestant churches, not being Episcopal churches, and the church-wardens of the several Episcopal churches, are and shall be deemed so far bodies corporate, as to take in succession all grants and donations, whether real or personal, made either to their several churches, the poor of their churches, or to them and their successors, and to sue and defend in all actions touching the same; and wherever the ministers, elders or vestry shall, in such original grants or donations, have been joined with such deacons or church-wardens as donees or grantees in succession, in such cases such officers and their successors, together with the

deacons or church-wardens, shall be deemed the corporation for such purposes as aforesaid.

§ 2. The minister or ministers of the several Protestant churches, of whatever denomination, are and shall be deemed capable of taking, in succession, any parsonage land, or lands granted to the minister and his successors, or to the use of the ministers, and of suing and defending all actions touching the same: saving . . . that no alienation of any lands belonging to churches, hereafter made by the deacons without the consent of the church, or a committee of the church for that purpose appointed, or by church-wardens without the consent of the vestry, shall be sufficient to pass the same; and that no alienation hereafter made by ministers, of lands by them held in succession, shall be valid any longer than during such alienors continuing ministers, unless such ministers be ministers of particular towns, districts or precincts, and make such alienation with the consent of such town, districts or precincts, or unless such ministers be ministers of Episcopal churches, and the same be done with the consent of the vestry. And the several churches in this province not being Episcopal churches, are hereby impowered to choose a committee to call the deacons or other church officers to an account, and if need be, commence and prosecute any suits touching the same, and also to advise and assist such deacons in the administration of the affairs aforesaid.

With two important exceptions these provisions are identical in wording with the Commonwealth Statute of 1785, ch. 51 [*Metcalf's Laws*, vol. i. p. 224], and they are substantially similar to those of *Revised Statutes* 1836, ch. 20, §§ 39-45; *General Statutes* 1860, ch. 31, §§ 1-7; and *Public Statutes* 1882, ch. 39, §§ 1-7. These enactments from first to last have been elaborately construed by the Supreme Court in several cases upon which we have no space to comment.¹

The above Provincial Act limits the income of such charities to £300 per annum,—at present the limit is \$2000 per annum. The fourth section gives a general permission to raise money by an assessment of pews, to all the churches in Boston and to all others "under the like circumstances." The tax on each pew might be varied from time to time by a general vote

¹ Among these may be mentioned:—*Weston v. Hunt*, 2 Mass. 500; *Brown v. Porter*, 10 Mass. 97; *Trustees Phillips Academy v. King*, 12 Mass. 545; *Austin v. Thomas*, 14 Mass. 332; *Stebbins v. Jennings*, 10 Pick. 172; *Sohier v. St. Paul's Church*, 12 Metc. 250; *Atty. Gen. v. Federal St. Meeting-house*, 3 Gray, 1.

of the proprietor, but was not to exceed two shillings a week, and the pew was liable to be sold if the tax was unpaid. The proprietors or pew-owners might choose a clerk, treasurer, and collector. We have here all the elements of a parish as it exists at the present day.

The last Provincial Act in addition to the old law of 4 W. & M. was that of 1759-60, ch. 24 [*Acts & Res. Mass. B.*, vol. iv. p. 288], and shows either that the ministry was degenerating, or, which is much more probable, that the general standard of culture and intelligence was rising. No assessment might be made for the support of a minister unless he "shall have been educated at some university, college, or public academy for the instruction of youth in the learned languages, and in the arts and sciences; or shall have received a degree from some university, college, or such public academy; or shall have obtained testimonials under the hands of the major part of the settled ministers of the Gospel in the country . . . that they apprehend him . . . to be of sufficient learning to qualify him for the work of such ministry."

We have traced the gradual evolution of the parish as it now exists, from the little independent town-church of the Colony; we have seen the precinct disengage itself from the municipality, and the "church" from the precinct; we have seen the precinct again break up into others of convenient size as the original grows unwieldy. The ministers, originally chosen by the townsmen, are made eligible, first by the "church" with the concurrence of the church-going inhabitants, and then, even against the wish of the latter, by the "church" with the assistance and assent of a council. Successively we see created the parish assessors, the clerk, the standing committee, the corporation to take donations, the taxable pews, and all the modern parochial machinery. But through all these changes the principle obtained which made every inhabitant liable to be taxed *primarily* for the support of the established congregational form of worship. We are now to examine the way in which the Provincial government dealt with its nonconformists, the first class of whom were the members of the Church of England.

II. There are but few acts under this division. With the theological attitude of the Independents toward the Anglicans in the Bay we have nothing to do; it appears that what the

"orthodox" chiefly objected to in the Church was its *Episcopacy*! Whatever protestations the former may have made about their unwillingness to separate, thus much is certain—that the latter's form of government and discipline was regarded as entirely distinct from that established, and its members considered it a grievance and an injustice that they should be taxed for the support of Independent preachers. It is singular that the first formal protest against the establishment in the Bay should have come from members of a church which was itself established. It came in the shape of a petition from certain Church of England clergymen to the Committee of the Privy Council on Appeals from the Plantations, asking for a repeal of the various acts passed up to that date for ministerial support [*Acts & Res. Mass. B.*, vol. ii. p. 477]. The ground taken by the petitioners—at the head of whom stood Timothy Cutler—was that the above acts were not only unwarrantable under the powers given by the Province Charter, but they were directly contrary even to its letter, which allowed "liberty of conscience to all Christians (except papists)." It is perhaps needless to say that liberty of conscience, if the profession, never was the practice of the Bay people—nor indeed of anybody else in the early years of the eighteenth century.

It does not appear that this first petition of the Church of England clergy received any further notice than a reference to the Lords Commissioners of Trade. The petition was indorsed "Rec'd 19th Oct. 1727," and on December 19 of that year, though whether in consequence of the above proceeding or not does not appear, was passed the first Provincial Act in favor of Members of the Church of England [*Acts and Res. Mass B.*, vol. ii. p. 459.] It begins with a recital of the statutes summarised under division I, and of the injustice felt in enforcing their provisions upon those of a different church organisation and discipline, and allows the following somewhat grudging privileges; Episcopalians living within *five miles* of a society of their church with a settled clergyman, might have their regular parish tax when collected paid over by the parish treasurer to such clergyman, who was authorised to sue for and recover the same if necessary. Such Episcopalians were also excused from paying anything toward the building or repair of the town meeting-houses. Those who were unlucky enough to be without the five-mile limit were liable to

be assessed along with their congregational cousins, and for the same purposes. It was, however, shrewdly provided that if the regular incumbent of the established religion found his agreed stipend diminished by payment to the Church of England minister, the full amount was to be made up, apparently by an impartial levy on the inhabitants of the parish—Episcopalians and all. This act was to continue in force for five years, and was not to apply to Boston, where a Church of England society had existed nearly forty years.

That the above law was regarded as unsatisfactory by those intended to be benefited thereby, is evident from a second petition, also with Mr. Cutler's name at the head of it, which was received in England about four years after the passage of the act. This petition is interesting in the recital that in New England it was common for people to go ten or fifteen miles to church; also that one of Mr. Cutler's flock, who lived in Cambridge and attended church in Boston, had actually suffered imprisonment owing to his refusal to pay his parochial tax for the benefit of the Independent preacher. This petition seems to have received no more notice in England than the former one.

But the inconvenience of the five-mile limit was soon done away with by the Act of 1735-6, ch. 15 [*Acts and Res. Mass B.*, vol. ii. p. 782], which was substantially similar to that of 1727-28, except that the parish treasurer, on the receipt of the ministerial tax from the collector, "shall deliver or cause to be delivered the taxes of all such persons as declare themselves to be of the Church of England, who usually and frequently attend the publick worship of GOD on the LORD'S days, at some Church of England (after the same has been ascertained by the assessors of such town, parish or precinct), unto the minister of the Church of England where he attends as aforesaid." Deficiencies in the salary of the established congregational preacher were to be made up by the parish or town as before, but the Episcopalians were to be excused from paying taxes toward the settlement of such minister as well as for repairs on the meeting-houses. Any one's membership in the Church of England had to be certified to the town treasurer by the clergyman and the Church Wardens. From the provisions of this act were excepted Boston and all parishes where the minister was supported by a free contribution.

As the above law was limited to five years' duration, it was re-enacted in a condensed form by the Act of 1742-43, ch. 8, [*Acts and Res. Mass. B.*, vol. iii. p. 25.] which remained substantially the law in Province and Commonwealth for ninety years.*

That the Episcopalians should have been looked upon with scant favor by the Independents in the Bay was perfectly natural. The latter might have forgotten the old days when their fathers left England and Charles the First, but they were not likely to forget the unprincipled Andros—a bad man, though he has perhaps been painted blacker than he was by patriotic historians; there was tyranny enough in the Bay before him. Among the grievances of that governor's rule has been enumerated that "every encouragement was given to the establishment of Episcopal churches and a tax levied for the support of the same."† From then until now the administration of Andros has been an unfortunate thing for the Church in Massachusetts. Historical instincts live many generations, and they die hard.

III. During the Provincial government there was passed many exemption laws in favor of those old enemies of the Colony, the Quakers and Anabaptists. They were, however, substantially similar in their provisions, and owe their number to the fact that they were all enacted for very limited periods. The first one was put forth about the same time as the first toleration act for the Anglicans, and was that of 1728-29, ch. 4. [*Acts and Res. Mass. B.*, vol. ii. p. 494]. Anabaptists and Quakers enrolled as members of regular societies, and refusing from conscientious scruples to pay their taxes for the support of the established minister, were not to have their polls assessed toward such minister's maintenance, nor were they to

* I do not think this is too broadly stated. Up to 1833 an Episcopalian was always liable to have his parish tax paid to the Independent minister of the first parish in the town, unless he gave notice that he desired it to be paid to his own clergyman, and the latter must demand it—some cases say within a "reasonable time." See *Montague v. First Par. in Dedham*, 4 Mass. 269 (1808); *Lovel v. Byfield Par.*, 7 Mass. 230 (1810); Stat. 1811, ch. 6; *Oakes v. Hill*, 10 Pick. 333 (1830); *Fisher v. Whitman*, 13 Pick. 350, 355 (1832).

† *Austin: History of Massachusetts*, p. 124. No authority is given for this statement, and I can find no trace of such a tax having existed either in the *Acts and Resolves* or the *Boston Town Records* of the time.

be liable to arrest for non-payment of the usual parish dues; provided they were regular attendants at and lived within five miles of their own meeting-house. Quakers were required to take the oath of allegiance to the king, to abjure popery (Parliament [only knows why]), and also to make a profession of their belief in the Trinity and the inspiration of the Scriptures. Those of the exempted denominations were to be ascertained in manner following. Certain of their members in each parish appointed by the justice of the county were to present annually to the Court of General Sessions a list of their regular worshipers, and this list was to be the basis upon which the assessors of the parish were to act in allowing exemptions. It will be noticed that the Quakers and Anabaptists were to be directly taxed for the support of their preacher, while the Episcopalians were to be taxed as if for the established religion and their tax paid out of the parish treasury to their own clergyman on demand.

By the fourth section of the act under consideration, the assessors were to levy the usual parish rate on all not included in the above list, in proportion to the province tax. The act was to continue in force for five years from June 20, 1728. But the marked deficiency in the provisions was soon apparent and was remedied by a law of the following year [*Acts and Res. Mass. B.*, vol. ii. p. 543]. By the latter, not only the polls but the estates of the sectaries, in their own hands and management, were exempted.

Before their expiration, however, these first two statutes were found so unsatisfactory that—probably at the suggestion of Governor Belcher, to whom the Quakers had addressed themselves—there was passed the Act of 1731-2, ch. 11, [*Acts and Res., Mass. B.*, vol. ii. p. 69], which extended only to the Quakers and made no material alteration in the law, except to render somewhat less cumbrous the method of ascertaining the exempted. They were now to be sought out by the assessors themselves at their annual census, and the assessors' list of those reputed to be Quakers being delivered to the town clerk was by him to be kept open to public inspection. In case any one's name was improperly omitted from the list he might have it seasonably entered thereon by making proof to the assessors, by affidavit of two principal members of his society, that he was of the exempted persuasion and a regular

worshiper. All not included in the list were to be assessed and levied on for the benefit of the establishment, and none of the exempted were to have any vote in parish affairs. This act was to expire at the end of that session of the legislature next succeeding the termination of five years from its date. It was re-enacted in June, 1737 [*Acts and Res. Mass. B.*, vol. ii. p. 876], and extended for about ten years longer.

It next became needful to provide for the Anabaptists, which was done by a precisely similar act to the above—that of 1734-5, ch. 6 [*Acts and Res. Mass. B.*, vol. ii. p. 714]. This was not to apply to “new towns granted upon condition of settling an orthodox minister and erecting a house for the public worship of GOD, till such time as those things were accomplished.” The Act of 1740-41, ch. 6, was passed in extension of that last named.

The next statute enacted for their benefit was extremely distasteful to the Baptists, and a more officiously meddlesome and annoying piece of legislation has seldom been put forth, even in Massachusetts Bay. It was the Act of 1752-3, ch. 15. [*Acts and Res. Mass. B.*, vol. iii. p. 644]. Baptists not on the assessors' lists as such, must be certified to before they could be entered thereon, both by their minister and two principal members of their society; and no such minister or members were to be deemed qualified, until the Baptist congregation to which they belonged had in turn been certified to be such by three other congregations of the same persuasion. A loud complaint went up from the much-enduring sect, which took form in a long petition addressed to Governor Shirley. This petition was unlucky in innocently setting forth some plain truths for which the General Court had small relish—the most biting of which must have been a gentle reminder that the “orthodox” were themselves dissenters. Then there were not wanting treasonable intimations that far beyond the sea there was a yet higher power than the General Court, to which appeal would lie. There were numerous complaints of the conduct of those zealous public servants, the assessors, which reveal a state of things the reverse of harmonious. “When our said Brethren,” say the Baptists, “have at sometimes reminded the Assessors of their Omission herein, They were generally Snubbed & in a Contemptuous manner Answered That the Assessors knew nothing of any such Act, nor would

they concern themselves therein, Other Assessors more knowing & Intelligent insisted upon it that as there was no Penalty affixed on the Nonperformance of taking such Lists of the Anabaptists in their respective Towns They would not trouble their heads about it." In short, the petition, being no more humble in tone nor better in orthography than became free-born men from the American backwoods, touched the small pride of the General Court more deeply than its sense of justice. It was dismissed by the Council on June 5, 1754, and by the House immediately after, as containing "several indecent reflections on the Laws and Legislature of this Province."

However, relief was not long in coming. The Act of 1757-8, ch. 20 [*Acts and Res. Mass. B.*, vol. iv. p. 67], extended to both Quakers and Anabaptists, who were now to be proceeded with as follows: they were to prepare their own lists; that of the Quakers to be signed and certified to be correct by three of their principal members in each meeting, and that of the Anabaptists by their minister in addition to three such members. This statute was continued by Act of 1760-61, ch. 21.

What appears to have been a grossly unjust law was that of 1768, ch. 5 [*Acts and Res. Mass. B.*, vol. iv. p. 1015], whereby a deliberate attempt was made to compel the Baptists to contribute toward the support of the Independent preacher in an out-of-the-way township of the Province. The act was disallowed by the Privy Council on the following tersely expressed report of the Lords Commissioners of Trade: "This clause, whereby all persons . . . are equally and indiscriminately taxed for the support of the Independent Church therein established, is in our opinion equally unusual and unreasonable, particularly in the case of the Sect commonly called the Antipedobaptists, it appearing that out of seventeen families of which this Township, at its first settlement consisted, twelve of them were of the above Sect and persuasion."

An exemption act more comprehensive and satisfactory than had yet been passed was that of 1770-71, ch. 10 [*Acts and Res. Mass. B.*, vol. v. p. 111], which was in the main a reenactment of the Act of 1757-58, ch. 20, but with the addition that any town or parish might by vote exempt such as professed themselves Quakers or Baptists, even though their names were not on the assessors' exemption list. This law

was continued by Act of 1774, ch. 6 [*Acts and Res. Mass. B.*, vol. v. 392], and modified by the insertion of a form of certificate to be appended to the exemption list, which in the case of the Baptists might now be signed by three chosen members of their society, "one to be the minister where there is any," instead of by three members *and* the minister.

Both the above acts were to continue for the very limited period of about three years each, and before the expiration of the last the British Province of Massachusetts Bay had ceased to exist.

After this dry summary of laws it is a temptation to comment on the history of which they are a part and an expression. Perhaps no community was ever more thoroughly, more fiercely religious than was that of Massachusetts Bay,—it was priest-ridden, some will have it. Repulsive in its character, that religion without beauty and with little of the love of GOD has yet given ineradicable tone to the thought and life of generations who have outlived its profession. No physical trait is more thoroughly *hereditary* than the effect of religious training. The whole of that sour book, the *Emancipation of Massachusetts*, is the fanatical result of the fanaticism it so bitterly arraigns. The calm temper of the Englishman revolted from the extreme of popery until, through the struggle of centuries, it at length cast it off, and it revolted as mightily from the extreme of puritanism until it has well-nigh cast off that also. But in New England an extreme had full chance to grow yet more extreme to the ultimate logical conclusion, from which its thinkers had the boldness not to draw back. Of all things the most remorseless tyranny is that of an idea, a principle, a system. Never was a form of religion more thoroughly established than that of the Bay, never was conformity more rigidly enforced; and never was disestablishment more complete than in the Commonwealth to-day, and accompanying "free thought" more rampant. The decay and neglect of religion in the country districts of the old Bay Province is noteworthy. It seems to have been as bad spiritually for the people to have the compulsory support of religion done away with, as it would be for them mentally if the public support of instruction were withdrawn. There is that in New England life which is hard, sordid, melancholy—what shall save it from being wholly absorbed by these traits? Its re-

ligion saved it once, but nothing can be more utterly, more hopelessly commonplace than a life without spirituality. The Bay Colony was said to be a missionary project, the Commonwealth is now a missionary field. Can its inhabitants accept popery, which they once made laws against; can they fall back upon their old discarded congregationalism; will free thought satisfy them, which never satisfied any one yet; can the American Church occupy the field—with its paucity of priests, the dainty individuality of its members, and its too many false brethren of uncertain faith? Why, this is the idea we have given a cultured freethinker, of our Church: "Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians . . . are simply forms of church government or organisation, and may consist with any laxity of opinion."¹⁰

Growing out of the contemplation of this little history great questions suggest themselves, which only statesmen or ecclesiastics can with profit discuss. Religious conformity and the support of public worship as well as education, were once in Massachusetts all within the power of the state. Against the two former protested the Church of England, and against the latter still protests the Church of Rome. How well the Church of England and the American Church, similar in doctrine and ritual, have been able to supply the place of the disestablished religion, even in the large towns, each one can see for himself; how well the Church of Rome could educate the children of the masses, we think we can guess. What is called Erastianism is generally acknowledged to be unwise—perhaps the separation of "church and state" may be found as a matter of good policy equally unwise. Are not both logical extremes, and as such absurdities? Has there been any way yet devised of making—not individuals, but a nation, religious, unless it is by the establishment of a *national religion*? When devotion to his form of religion is inwoven with devotion to his country's good, has not the former a hold on the *average* man it could never otherwise have? Abolish compulsory support of education, and it is believed intelligence will stagnate; abolish compulsory support of religion, and will not spirituality stagnate in the people? The author does not pretend to answer these questions.

SIDNEY WETMORE.

¹⁰ Joseph H. Allen: *Our Liberal Movement in Theology*. Boston, 1882.

Industrial Schools for Indians and Negroes.

ALL intelligent students of the Indian and Negro problems agree that their only solution lies in the direction of education.

Dr. Atticus Haygood of Georgia thus forcibly puts the case of the South: "While slavery endured there was for the Southern people—the white and the black people—a *modus vivendi*,—though the Negroes were ignorant. But slavery gone forever, the Negroes not only free but voters, and permanently ignorant and degraded through ignorance and the moral evils inevitable to ignorance, there is no possible *modus vivendi* in the long run of history. Certainly no man is cruel enough to believe that the Southern whites deserve the punishment that would befall them if one-third of their population were forever condemned to citizenship and—ignorance."

The Dawes Bill, which breaks up the Indian reservations and introduces the red man to the rights and duties of citizenship, makes education absolutely necessary in his case.

But the question arises, of what sort shall this education for these two races be? The white people of this country are beginning to feel that something more is necessary in their common schools than the training of the mind.

When the British commissioners of Virginia, a hundred years ago, offered to take the sons of an Indian chief and give them a college education, the offer was declined by their long-headed father on the ground that the kind of training proposed would teach them neither to bear cold or hunger, neither to build a cabin, kill a deer, or take an enemy. But he graciously offered to take the Virginia gentlemen's sons to the woods, take great care of their education, and make men of them.

This matter of making men is of more importance than the making of scholars. The difficulty with the Indian and Negro, as with some of the white race, is not so much the learning the right thing to do, as the doing it when it is learned. The problem of the uplifting of these people is more a moral than an intellectual one, although the two are closely related. Knowledge of books is not always an antidote for feebleness of will. The history of missions is teaching that savages after they accept CHRIST need more of the safeguards that belong to our Christian civilization. Most of all, perhaps next to the

grace of GOD in their hearts, they need to be taught to work. The experience of the Hampton School in the training of Indian and Negro youth has caused those connected with it to place a high value upon productive manual labor as a means toward the moral uplifting of the two races that are represented there.

Both of them need to learn the lesson of the dignity and the necessity of labor. The Negro has been accustomed to think of labor, and especially manual labor, as a badge of slavery from which emancipation and certain education was to set him free. The Indian considered that manual labor belonged to the squaw and not to the brave. How little of a future there is for either race without it, is not difficult to foretell. In order to accomplish the desired end it is necessary to give productive manual labor an honorable place in the training school.

One can not approach the Hampton Institute without feeling that the industries hold an important place in the curriculum. "The Huntington Industrial Works" is the first building that attracts the eye as one approaches by water. Here employment and training is given to seventy students in all sorts of wood-work. About one and a half million feet of lumber are sawed each year and sold in the yard or made up into sashes, blinds, doors, and the interior furnishing of houses. A business of thousands of dollars is carried on with the outside world, and the students employed, besides earning their entire support, gain a practical knowledge of the work of the saw-mill. Next to this is the machine-shop, where the students are initiated into the mysteries of plumbing, gas and steam fitting, and all sorts of work in iron and steel. Further on there is another industrial building where sewing and tailoring, knitting by machine, and printing are taught. Proceeding still further, one comes upon the model farm, the center of the agricultural work and instruction of the school.

Still further on there is a cluster of buildings where a company of boys are taught carpentering, tinning, harness-making, blacksmithing, wheelwrighting, and shoemaking. One cannot approach the Hampton School without gaining some idea of the dignity and importance of manual labor. The same thing is true of the Indian Training School at Carlisle, and some of the other industrial schools of the South. The student who

enters the Hampton Institute gains the same thought. The majority of the colored boys enter the preparatory class, working ten hours a day the first year, and going to school at night. Those who take the regular apprentice course spend three or four years in this way. In the regular Normal school classes there are two days of work and four of study, while with the Indian a half day of school and a half day of work are given.

The position of a student is largely determined by his proficiency in the industries.

But not only is the dignity of labor impressed upon the student by this system, but its absolute necessity. Money is not given, nor is board or clothes, except as a partial return is made in the way of labor. About \$50,000 was credited to the students on account of their labor last year. Each one has a statement of his debits and credits each month. To his credit is placed the work that he has done. He is charged ten dollars a month for his board, lodging and washing. He buys his own clothes. If he fails to keep up his credit balance, he is suspended from the school. Or in case of the Indian whose board is provided by the government, he is obliged to do without other things that he desires. The only outright help that the school gives its colored students is the tuition. For the rest they have to work. One of the great advantages of this industrial system, even greater than the teaching of the trades and regular occupations, which of itself is a great safeguard against evil, is the gain in manliness and womanliness which comes to these young people from this plan of self-help. Those who work all day the first year are able to place money to their credit which shall pay their expenses in the following years, and they thus learn to be provident; a most important lesson, and one especially needed by the Indian and the Negro.

This system of productive manual labor is most helpful in the teaching of honesty. It emphasises the idea of giving an equivalent for what is received. The value of time is made clear to a student when he loses a part of his day's pay for being late in the morning. The introduction of practical business methods into the school life is a great help. The teaching of the Ten Commandments is greatly aided by the labor system. Right living is made much easier for students who are rung up at an early hour in the morning, have hardly a half hour to themselves during the day, and go to bed at night in a

condition of healthy fatigue, than for those who have many idle hours upon their hands.

A school for the training of the young of these two races ought to be a school for civilisation. The lessons that are learned from books are by no means the most important. But the experience of the Hampton School goes to show that the industrial system rather helps than hinders progress in Academic work. With two whole days devoted to manual labor, the students at the Hampton School are reported by the inspectors of Southern institutions to make as much progress in the Academic department as in other institutions where there is no manual labor. The result of this sort of training has been most hopeful. Three-fourths of the colored population live in the country, and all of the Indians. The city Negroes are pretty well cared for in the matter of schools and religious privileges. The country furnishes at the same time the most difficult and the most hopeful field. The industrial school with its plain living and hard work fits men to be leaders and teachers of their people in the country. The free school system of the South gives an opportunity for every competent colored teacher to earn a living, at least a part of the year. If in addition to this he is able to till the soil or work at a trade, he is independent. For a long time to come the country teacher and preacher in the South must be able to earn at least a part of his living by the work of his hands, and it is much better for his morals that he should. In many cases the graduates of Hampton have combined the duties of teachers, preachers and farmers. The South has contributed since 1865 about twenty-five million dollars toward the education of Negroes. There were 15,000 public schools for colored children in the former slave States last year. Not half of these were supplied with teachers properly fitted either in the matter of their mental or moral qualifications. The teachers of these schools must be Negroes, or there will be no schools. They are, or ought to be, the intellectual, social, religious, and industrial leaders of the colored people. To supply these schools with competent teachers is a pressing need. The old-time country Negro preacher is usually a blind leader of the blind. The intelligent moral and religious work must be done by the school-teacher for years to come.

It was estimated that the graduates of Hampton alone had

between 30,000 and 40,000 colored children under their care last year. The testimony of both whites and blacks as to the value of their work has been most encouraging. Not only have they done good service in the school-room, but they have taught old and young on Sunday out of GOD'S Word, they have organised temperance societies. The boys have often had to build their own school-houses, and have instructed the people in improved methods of agriculture. The girls have taught sewing-classes, have gone from house to house and instructed the mothers in cooking, housekeeping, and the care of their children. Abundant testimony has been given by county officials and others of the decrease in theft and the improvement in purity among the colored population as the direct result of this work. One of the Hampton graduates in the black belt of Alabama started five years ago an industrial school on the Hampton plan. He dug the foundations of his buildings, cut down the trees, started a saw-mill and a brick kiln, and with help from Northern friends has built up a flourishing industrial school with ten shops, school-rooms, and dormitories, and has now over three hundred boarding pupils with twenty teachers all colored. This school in Alabama receives \$3,000 from the State and has the cordial support of the white people. Another institution of the same sort has been started in North Carolina by another Hampton graduate, and still another in Virginia. Those schools thus become themselves centers of light and civilisation, and in their turn send out teachers among the black masses where they are so much needed.

The government schools among the Indians of the West afford a like opportunity for the Indian graduates of Hampton and similar institutions. They have taken positions in the shops on the reservations, and have acted as catechists and teachers in the Church schools. Bishop Hare has for many years made use of Hampton as an advance school for his Indian pupils, feeling that the contact with Eastern life and civilisation was of a great advantage to them. After careful examination into the cases of returned Indian students, it has been found that four-fifths of those who have returned from Hampton have done well, some of them very well.

In some cases, with the help of the Indian associations in the East they have been able to build with their own hands

comfortable houses of their own, and some of them have become successful farmers, affording most useful object-lessons to others of their own race of what the Indian can do. There is no more hopeful field for missionary labor than the Indians and Negroes of our own country, and no plan so well fitted to meet the needs of the great masses as the training of teachers and leaders of their own race in normal and industrial schools.

H. B. FRISSELL.

Immorality in Fiction.

A Transaction in Hearts. An Episode. EDGAR SALTUS.
Lippincott's Magazine, for February, 1889.

"A FEW of our younger poets and novelists," we read in *Book Talk* of the February *Lippincott's*—the number containing *A Transaction in Hearts*,—"are beginning to allow themselves a larger latitude than their predecessors in treating of the greatest passion that shakes mankind, the passion which for good or evil is the most tremendous factor in molding the lives and characters of the young. These novelists are looked upon askance by the multitude, but they will probably prevail in the end,"—with much more of the same sort intended to justify the publication of *A Transaction in Hearts*, the writer classifying *Jane Eyre*; *The Quick or the Dead*; *The Scarlet Letter*; Zola's novels; *Adam Bede*, and the *Decameron* all in the same batch, as books illustrating truthfulness in treatment of the greatest passion; those who shrink from such exposure of the undercurrent of society are likened to the felon who begged the sheriff to let him have an umbrella held over his head from the door of Newgate to the gallows, because it was a drizzling morning and he was apt to take cold.

Now there are some of us who not only look askance at the novelists of the so-called beastly school, but protest against their classification with *Jane Eyre*, *Adam Bede*, and the *Scarlet Letter*, because of their dealing with "the greatest passion that shakes mankind." The difference between these books—between *Adam Bede* for instance and this *Transaction in Hearts*—is as great as there would be between a *Romance of Aspasia* as written by Pericles, and one as written by Alcibiades; between *A War in Heaven* as portrayed by Michael, and

one by Lucifer. A common subject does not always establish kinship among books—far from it. Neither can we admit what *Lippincott's Magazine* would impress upon its readers, that such fiction as *A Transaction in Hearts* bears the same relation to the reading public as a light shower to a man on his way to the gallows, and that because the novel reader, like all humanity, is already as bad as can be, that to make the censorship of the press an umbrella to save him from further exposure is the height of absurdity, and to shield him from a full revelation of his own depravity simply amusing. Society is rotten to the core—according to the beastly school: "there has been nothing, there is nothing, there will be nothing, save a constant evolution, a continuous development, with death for a goal." "Let us portray that development," say this school, "and enjoy the comedy or tragedy as it happens to be. Let us eat, drink, and read these novels in which our ruling masterful passion is portrayed, and by which it is inflamed, for to-morrow we die. Nothing good will come of the portrayal. We do not seek the good. There *is* nothing good under the sun."

It is from this school this novel emanates: a natural evolution of what is called modern unbelief,—a skepticism as old as the revelation of GOD in the world. The book will be a feast to every reader in harmony with the sphere from which it proceeds,—and revolting to the spiritually minded, even if they have no faith in what is called the Supernatural, and the dogmas of the Church. Nothing but kinship to the rottenness revealed in Gonfalon's heart, the hero of "the Transaction"—(it is hard to see where the *hearts* come in), an instinctive sense of belonging, "to the breed" (to use a phrase of the book), possessing the seductive animality of his sister-in-law, can insure enjoyment in reading this exciting portrayal of a clergyman's attempt to seduce his wife's sister under his own roof, and his failure for reasons by no means to her credit.

In books like this (why advertise them by giving the list of the most popular) we get a wonderful insight into the inner life of the writers and that of their admiring readers as well. We breathe the atmosphere indispensable for their development, we taste the foul water springs nourishing their roots, and can form some idea of the misconceptions of spiritual things misdirecting their authors, their estimate of moral land-

marks and eternal verities. It is one thing to draw a realistic picture of society from the pure heights above the mire, and another from the depths described. The atmosphere in which the work is conceived shapes its true influence for good or evil.

There is a piquancy of carnality spicing this book, while its sensuality is like the oil of a salad permeating every ingredient. It jeers and sneers at Christianity—gives covert thrusts on every page. Mr. Qualms is "a sturdy servant of CHRIST with a look of feverish determination and trousers that bagged at the knee." Gonfallon "knew his parishioners through and through. Half of them were superstitious as ballads, the other half skeptical as himself. There were those who sat very erect and said *Amen* to impress their neighbors, and there were those who allowed themselves to be impressed thereby." . . . "Was it not a woman who changed into Satan the angel that was Lucifer?"

But enough. The signs are that the story will be a success as far as large sales are concerned. It is much talked about—that sells any book in these days, no matter its contents. It is a fitting companion to *The Quick or the Dead*. Where you find one you may look for the other. The lovers of such books are as yet far from surfeited. The feast is but begun. Circles in which such books are the honored favorites already exist—young people who have found their ideals in these studies in moral pathology. The fleshly novel, as it is called, has established a cult, and, alas! it is supported chiefly by the young. To hear young people discussing *A Transaction in Hearts* should have an ominous significance, particularly if it reveal acquaintance with *As in a Looking Glass*.

"No amount of sales," says the critic of the *N. Y. Tribune*, "can lift this class of writings out of the moral kennel which is their birthplace and their heritage."

Unwittingly the writer has paid tribute to Christianity.

Gonfallon's loss of faith is at the root of his moral weakness. He was faithless to his GOD and the vows of his ordination before he was faithless to his wife. He had no deeply rooted convictions to hold him back; that which leadeth to righteousness was dead in his soul before he faced the fact that the love for his wife was dead—that he had loved the woman, not the individual—"the bottle, not the wine." It was not a

devoted priest of the Church who asks, "Where is the Vandal that invented marriage?"

The single example given in the book of a pure, high type of humanity is Gonfallon's wife—"the languid woman who each day at stated intervals consumed a furtive pill, and whose loving devotion was but a straw on the mad stream whose impetuosity was not checked and controlled by any heroism of his."

In Gonfallon we have, no doubt, Mr. Saltus's dominant conception of the Rector of a fashionable church in New York. So false is the type, the creation is a blemish in an estimate of the story from an artistic point of view. Gonfallon is something unique in "the clerical species," and granting his existence, his stay in any parish would be very brief. His creation is explained, however, when we remember the ideas of the school from which this story proceeds, and to which the typical Rector of a wealthy congregation is a hypocritical formalist, "perplexed at times, but endeavoring to starve his thoughts into submission and sponge his mind of doubt,"—a man who defends Christianity in the pulpit, but is confounded in his study by Assyro-Accadian myths, German metaphysics, and the philosophy of modern materialism—a self-seeker whose highest aim is to reach the Episcopate.

The condemners of the story will only prove its advertisers. To call it an immoral story,—to say that "it drags into light the crouching beast of animal passion," insures for it an enormous sale. Alas! that the reading public like so well to read about this crouching beast, and that chiefly when it is victor of human souls, tearing them with its fangs. The crisis of this transaction in hearts—and *transaction* was a word well chosen—is suggested only. The one episode given in such a life as Gonfallon's only suggests other episodes, logical sequences of what is told in the story; an inevitable multiplication of effects in which things will be worse rather than better.

Surely there never was a time when watchfulness on the part of parents and guardians, in regard to the reading of the young under their care, was more imperative. The market is flooded with books so subtly poisonous that the wisest discrimination is demanded. The popular books are in many cases far from being the good books, and, we may as well face the

fact, the good books are as a rule a long remove from popularity. What everybody is reading, what everybody is talking about, that is the book that pays author and publisher. If any one doubts if *A Transaction in Hearts* is demoralising and lowering, a taste of an extract or two ought to suffice, remembering that the subject of the story is a clergyman of whose unholy passion the writer says: "Had it been love that impelled him some excuse might then be. But it was not that. He needed no one to prompt him, that in his heart were none of those choirs which love awakens; not a hymn had been summoned, not a harmony evoked. No, it was not that; it was the beast that is in us all, lashed down, kept cowering and hidden in the deepest cavern of our being, till in the inadvertent moment it leaps into light and claims its prey at last."

And this is the fiction,—the portrayal of passion with a sneer at Christianity—that is to prevail in the end? Can it be, as is implied in the Book Talk of *Lippincott's Magazine*, that it will yet be recognised as "fit reading for the young Person?"

Of the literary style of the book—its strain after the startling in describing the commonplace,—its marvelous array of queer words, it is only necessary to say that its heroine has eyes "of iserine" and a skin "eburnean in its clarity," while the hero is the fortunate possessor of eyes "of that green-black which is noticeable in dysodile." The effect produced by the personal appearance of another lady is thus described: "To one as myope as her husband, the lines that extended from the edge of the nostril, the circles that shadowed the cheek-bones like inverted circumflexes over an *i*, were unperceived." When the same lady had "lancinating neuralgia" she preserved "the disposition of a sun-dial," with "nothing dolent in her tone," and "in moments when the agony of her temples was acute enough to turn each individual hair above them red, when a pang would scatter through the cheek-bone, loiter under the teeth, and then distend in zigzags and spirals through every nerve of the face, a moan might come from her, but never a complaint."

The devotees of this school like this sort of thing as much as do the Browningites a hard, "rugged" sentence. "Lancinating neuralgia" must go into the new phraseology of the

Swinburne-Amélie Rives-Saltus-Atherton school. What is it Goethe wrote?

For that which is, or is not in the head,
A sounding phrase will serve you in good stead.

JANE MARSH PARKER.

John Ward, Preacher.

John Ward, Preacher. By MARGARET DELAND. Boston and New York; Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

THIS work, the first story of a writer already known by a successful volume of verse, has made its way even where *Robert Elsmere* had rightful possession of that space in the public mind which is open to religious novels. In London, one of the leading weekly papers gave it a long notice, and called it "a remarkable book"; and Archdeacon Farrar wrote a highly appreciative review of it in *Longman's Magazine*. At home it quickly reached something like fame. A thousand copies of it were sold in the first week of publication; the five months after exhausted six editions; it was read by everybody, and became one of the inevitable subjects in conversation; it was noticed, reviewed, "reported" about, and even preached upon, to an extent that might denote some very extraordinary merit in the book.

And merit it certainly has: yet perhaps the larger share of its popularity is owing to the very general interest evidently felt just now in the religious question on which the story is based. Eschatology was, it is said, the subject at the English Church Congress held at Manchester last October; some eleven thousand people assembled to hear the discussion of it; and in our own part of the world we know what universal attention this same subject has been able to attract during the controversies concerning it in the Congregational Board of Missions, and at Andover. A point has been reached where people are just ready to have their thoughts put into shape for them by such a story as Mrs. Deland's. For it is probably the average view of these matters to which the book gives form; it expresses very well the various phases of bigotry and of indifference among the narrow and ignorant Presbyterians

and the shallow and conventional Churchmen who play the subordinate parts in the drama; it draws with terrible distinctness the magnificent devotion of John Ward to his abominable creed; but the author's sympathy is with Helen and Gifford, theirs is the thought which is to leave its impression with us, and they are essentially people of their time. In its breadth, its elevation, its unselfishness, no less than in its vagueness and instability, their theory of things bears evidence of the very decade to which it belongs.

They are sure that GOD is not cruel or wicked; that the Calvinist idea of him better represents the devil; that there is no such place as hell, but that the eternal consequences of sin and its effect upon character may make a state deserving that name whether before or after death; that as long as a soul lives, however, in any world, there is always a possibility of its growing good, a chance for it to turn to GOD. To be good from fear of hell is degrading; too much anxiety about one's own salvation is selfish and small. Love of good is love of GOD, heaven means righteousness; the power and the desire for good, in ourselves, is GOD. Faith is not the holding of certain dogmas, it is simply openness and readiness of heart to believe any truth which GOD may show. The Bible can not be quoted in proof of any argument, for it is not verbally inspired; if it were verbally inspired, the truth of Calvinism could not be denied. Belief is a matter of temperament and reasoning about it useless. Doctrine is of very little importance; of course one's soul always seeks for truth, but one lives progressively in religion as in everything else; the main thing is to have the realisation of GOD in the soul. But, Helen begins to realise, as the difficulties and darkenesses of life draw in around her, "the presence in the world of suffering which can not produce character, irresponsible suffering so to speak, makes it hard to believe in the personal care of GOD";—and she is soon aware that she has no conviction of the personality of the Divine Being. She sees that if GOD is only another name for the power of good, that may be something blind and impersonal, a force in the thought of which there is nothing comforting or tender; and under the cruel trial brought upon her by her husband's morbid fanaticism, she loses such faith as she has had, not even venturing to hope that there is a life after death. Only, she "will wait,"

for though "perhaps light will never come to my eyes . . . I believe there is light somewhere."

Even such agnosticism is better than the blasphemous conception of a GOD who wills to keep some souls forever in sin. But is there no alternative? As we climb out of the gulf of Calvinism is there no upward path but must lose itself in mist, or break off suddenly at the precipice's edge? Perhaps we shall find the clue by revising one of these definitions which we have gathered from Gifford's and Helen's talk in different parts of the book. Faith, they say, is not the holding of certain dogmas; it is simply openness and readiness of heart to believe any truth which GOD may show. Is not this rather a necessary preparation for, and accompaniment of, faith? It is the state of mind for science, for dealing with things; but how would it do between man and man if nothing more went with it? "You are my friend; I trust you; that is, my heart is open and ready to believe one thing of you as well as another. I have no convictions." For social life, for morality, as much as for religion, there must be, there is in every case, something more than this, something that is *not* a matter of temperament, that is not a mere letting of the mind alone to see where it will drift. There must be something voluntary, an effort, a choice, a trust in that which can not be proved. "Faith," says a book to which we turn from Mrs. Deland, "is not assent to propositions. It is trust in a Person—a Nature." There, it seems to us, is the way that leads, forever ascending, into light; not into darkness or destruction. There is the importance of Christian doctrine, for its facts present to us a Person in whom we may believe, a Nature that we may trust, through all our keenest feeling of "the great puzzle."

So, the All-Great were the All-Loving too—

So, through the thunder comes a human voice

Saying, 'O heart I made, a heart beats here!

Face, my hands fashioned, see it in myself.

Thou hast no power, nor may'st conceive of mine,

But love I gave thee, with myself to love,

And thou must love me who have died for thee.'

"How do you suppose," Helen asks, "that the conviction of the personality of GOD is reached?" Nobody answers her

that there is a Gospel; that on it is founded all the truth she holds; that with it alone is compatible that faith which she has breathed in, she knows not how, and which not love, nor grief, nor despair can drive out from her again. The truth of the Incarnation is, "GOD will have all men to be saved." One might almost suppose from Mrs. Deland's characters that the Church which Dr. Howe represents had forgotten the existence of its own Foundation.

Another impression which the book might give is that Anglican eschatology is the same with John Ward's, if Church people had but the honesty to say so. It might have been well to balance Dr. Howe's authority on this point by a reference, for instance, to Dr. Pusey, whom no one will suspect of having been too lax in his interpretation of Catholic teaching, and whose book on this subject was indeed written for the express purpose of counteracting the influence of Dr. Farrar's *Eternal Hope*. After the publication of both works, their authors came to see that they did not differ on main points of the question: Dr. Pusey's summary of what he held to be of faith on the subject Dr. Farrar declared himself able, "with scarcely the smallest verbal alteration," to accept; and Dr. Pusey remarked that Dr. Farrar's "belief is happily better than that of his book." "If I had time," he wrote, in a letter which Canon Farrar tells us he received from him in July, 1880, "I would have rewritten my book, and would have said: 'You seem to me to deny nothing which I have said. You do not deny the eternal punishment of souls finally and obstinately impenitent. I believe the eternal punishment of no others. GOD alone knows.' . . . That it should be men of such widely differing schools of thought who thus agree, gives us the greater confidence in taking their common view as the faith of the Church. How entirely different the Church's whole way of looking at, of approaching, the subject is from the Calvinist's, Dr. Pusey shows no less than Archdeacon Farrar. One may see it without difficulty by comparing almost any page of Dr. Pusey's *What is of Faith, etc.?* with John Ward's argument [pp. 244, 245, 308]. The basis of John Ward's theory is a preposterous idea of what justice is; and an equally preposterous conception of the character and nature of GOD. It would not be justice for any Creator to make a creature liable to sin, arbitrarily attaching to that sin

a penalty of endless, aimless torture; nor would there be justice in acting on the figment that Adam and Eve contained in themselves the undivided human race in any such sense as to make the one act of sin by which they fell, a voluntary act at that time of each and all of their future descendants! It is not the GOD of Israel, nor the GOD revealed in CHRIST, who can be divided into two different characters, the one proud, revengeful, implacable, cruel; the other acquiescing in injustice, and showing only a limited pity and self-sacrifice. It is scarcely possible to read John Ward's reasoning without the thought that his GOD *has* "pleasure in the death of him that dieth." Not so can we think of Him of whom Dr. Pusey writes:

GOD can not cease to be that which He is, the supreme Good in Himself, and of all His rational creation. His love can not cease to be essential to their bliss, though they reject it. . . .

The Cross has a mighty attraction. The love of Him who died for us on it has, through all the ages since that Precious Death, drawn laden souls to it. But the magnet of His love has not drawn us like stocks and stones without and against our wills. The will must surrender itself at last; else it will reject even Almighty Infinite Love. . . .

He willeth that we should be saved, but He willeth not to do violence to our will, which He holds sacred, as the finite image of His own Infinite Will, free, after the likeness of His own Almighty Will, 'Who doth whatsoever pleaseth Him.' If He were to force our wills, He would make us lower than the beasts that perish; for they too have a limited will. He will mightily influence, constrain by His love, plead, put good thoughts into our souls, knock at the closed door, repeat His pleadings again and again: but still there is that sad, 'Ye would not,' before which Omnipotent love was obliged by the conditions of the nature which He had given us, to turn away. Man has still the power to refuse the overwhelming, sweet, attractive, all-but-compulsory power of the love of God.

If there shall—which the whole Church of Christ prays there may not—be any who incur the *pœna damni* (that pain of loss which is no private interpretation, but the real meaning of the petition in the Litany against "everlasting damnation"); if there shall be any, that is, who lose forever that which is the true end and only fulfillment of their nature, the Sight of GOD; it will be wholly and solely of their own will, not a

penalty attached to their refusal, but the very object of that refusal—a refusal inconceivable if we were not now each of us familiar in ourselves with some degree of it—the refusal *not* to lose Life.

Turning from the theological to the literary quality of the book, we are still upon the border of religious question. The union in one man at the present day of John Ward's belief and his character has, to some critics, seemed impossible. There are theological makeweights which, according to an English reviewer—

Could not possibly have been ignored in our own day. . . . by so earnest and fine a nature as John Ward's. Doubtless he was one who would have trusted Scripture against nineteenth-century prepossessions without any hesitation; but none the less nineteenth-century prepossessions would have called his attention and opened his eyes to all that aspect of Scripture which tells against the doctrine of final reprobation.

We are not sure of this, being convinced that people who are born and who die on the same day with each other do not always live in one age of the world. As to the Catechism which John's brother-pastor had taught to his children, we should like to see a copy of it. We supposed from the story that it was only for want of a Presbyterian education that we did not know it, and accordingly asked with great confidence, at an agency for the Presbyterian Board of Publication, to see the Presbyterian Catechism. Learning that there was more than one, we explained that we meant the one quoted in *John Ward*. Thereupon the Westminster Catechism, the Shorter Catechism, and seven other catechisms were laid before us, a chair was brought, and we were invited to make as careful a search as might be necessary to find the quotation. We looked through the nine books from cover to cover: some of the covers were yellow, as in the story; some of the doctrines were terrible; but little Ellen's questions and answers were not there. We rose, undaunted, to ask where we could send for more catechisms. The agent was a grave man, but he smiled at that; and his assistant, appearing from behind a high desk, inquired mildly, "Have you been able to find the hymns sung in *John Ward*? I have looked for them in vain."

"A novelist's license," said the agent. "Yes, we have had a great many people in, asking for that Catechism, but we can't find it."

As to the hymns, however, we have since learned that the one beginning—"My thoughts on awful subjects roll," is to be found in the *Plymouth Collection*.

Another objection of the reviewer we have mentioned is that John Ward, living as he is supposed to do, in our own day, could hardly by any possibility have contravened S. Paul's direct command,—“If any brother hath an unbelieving wife, and she is content to dwell with him, let him not leave her.” This does not appear to us to be to the point. It was not fear for his own condition as being “unequally yoked,” that inspired John Ward's action. He had no idea of separating himself from his wife in the sense of ceasing to be her husband. On the contrary, it was as a husband, with an exaggerated idea of a husband's powers, that he forbade her to return to her home until her faith was like his, precisely as he might have ordered his child to stay upstairs till it could say its lesson. It was an impertinence on his part to think he had the right, and we find it hard to forgive Helen that she did not notice this. We are forced to seek relief for our indignation in the explosive wrath of her uncle, that picturesque, attractive, incongruous and impossible representative of the Episcopal clergy, whose delightfully confused arguments and vain attempts to meet his loftier-minded opponent on his own ground, make an irresistible mingling of comedy in the tragedy of the scene where John gives his final refusal to yield. We think the special charm of the book lies in this, its giving the sense of so wide a range, by making us feel ourselves so entirely on Dr. Howe's plane in our sympathy with his anger, his outraged common-sense, his pity for Helen; and then suddenly transporting us to what seems like a higher world, where we look at things with John Ward's eyes, and know the solemnity of such love and grief as his, the grandeur of a human soul that feels its bond with GOD. We have been angry with the man's ignorance, his narrowness, his morbid folly; we have traced something unhealthy in his mind from beginning to end; and yet the fact remains that we do reverence him, we do find him more interesting than even Helen, and

we do not at all wonder at the love he inspired. For he had in him that which, before all, mankind is formed to love.

As romance, the book is much above the average for both interest and beauty. If Helen did not say "I would not," when we think she means "I should not," we should consider her æsthetically satisfactory; and there are some scenes, such as the ride home after John's exchange with Mr. Grier, which are exquisitely presented. Indeed, the whole crisis from the terrible moment of Elder Dean's visit in the study, to this close of the momentous Sunday, seems to us most perfectly drawn. One touch at the end throws out, as if in the clear twilight in which they rode, that far-reaching love of John for his wife, a love for which time was too brief, a love that cared for an immortal being. Helen's love for him was as noble, as complete, but it had no such consciousness of Eternity.

'Helen,' he said [Mr. Grier had just left them], 'it can not be impertinence to pray for a soul in danger, as yours is, my darling. I can not tell how he knew it, but it is so. It is my sin which has kept you blind, and hidden the truth from you, and how can I be angry if another man joins his prayers to mine for your eternal salvation?'

'You say this because I do not believe in eternal punishment, John?' she asked.

'Yes,' he answered, gently, 'first because of that, and then because of all the errors of belief to which that leads.'

'It all seems so unimportant,' she said, sighing: 'certainly nothing which could make me claim the prayers of a stranger. Ah, well, no doubt he means it kindly, but don't let us speak of it any more, dearest.'

Their horses were so close, that, glancing shyly about for a moment into the twilight, Helen laid her head against his arm, and looked tenderly into his face.

He started, and then put a quick arm about her to keep her from falling. 'No,' he said, 'no, I will not forget.' It was as though he answered some voice in his soul, and Helen looked at him in troubled wonder.

The rest of the ride was very silent.

There are three other romances carried on with this, the chief one of which might be very charming, if only Gifford Woodhouse were not such an insufferable young man. We are quite sorry that our pretty little friend Lois should accept

his heavy, tyrannical devotion, and we can not help wondering if she did not find the long years very dull, afterwards, when he could never find anything to say (for we know he never did), except solemnly to declare to her that she was not faultless, and that wild horses should not make him say she was, which she must take as a proof of his affection—for it was all she would get.

Of the uncertain course of Mr. Denner's wavering but chivalrous sentiment, and the dignified response to it made by each of the two sisters between whom he could not decide, we might have been content to hear rather less. Not that we do not like the little gentleman, and respect the unselfish serenity with which he dies, cordially sympathising in his calm "shutting up" of Dr. Howe at that time. There are several points where we regret that a Church clergyman out of real life could not have stepped into the book. But to return to Mr. Denner and the ladies,—the episode has been much praised for its Cranford-like delineation of the elderly maidens, as well as for the balancing sketch of their admirer. For us, it is too Cranford-like. We do not want another picture, surely, of the unforgettable Miss Deborah and Miss Matey! Especially as in Mrs. Preston's *A Year in Eden*, only last year, they appeared as Miss Anna and Miss Ruth Middleton.

No, the truly satisfactory lovers in this story are Alfaretta and her humble Thaddeus. We must have one quotation from them, just as a solace to end with, after John and Gifford! Alfaretta, Helen's maid-servant, and daughter to the redoubtable Elder Dean, is offended with her swain for the feeble support he affords her in her defense of Mrs. Ward against her father. As she goes back at night to the parsonage, after being told by the Elder that she must give warning and that Mrs. Ward shall be sessioned for spreading heresy:

Thaddeus had almost to run to keep up with her, such was her troubled and impatient haste, and she scarcely noticed him, though he tramped through the mud to show his contrition, instead of taking his place at her side on the board walk. . . .

. . . 'Retta,' he ventured timidly, 'don't be mad with me,—now don't.'

He came a little nearer, and essayed to put an arm about her

waist, a privilege often accorded him on such an occasion. But now she flounced away from him, and said, sharply, 'You needn't be comin' round *me*, Mr. Thaddeus Green. Anybody that thinks my Mrs. Ward isn't goin' to heaven had just better keep off from me, fer I'm goin' with her, wherever that is ; and I suppose, if you think *that* of me, you'd better not associate with me.'

'I didn't say *you* was goin',' protested Thaddeus, tearfully, but she interrupted him with asperity.

'Don't I tell you I'm bound to go where she goes? And if you're so fearful of souls bein' lost, I wonder you don't put all your money in the missionary-box, instead of buying them new boots.'

Perhaps it was the thought of the new boots, but Thaddeus stepped on the board walk, and this time, unreprieved slipped his arm about Alfaretta's waist.

'Oh, now, Retta,' he said, 'I didn't mean any harm. I only didn't want the Elder thinkin' I wasn't sound, for he'd be sayin' we shouldn't keep company, an' that's all I joined the Church for last spring.'

'Well, then,' said Alfaretta, willing to be reconciled, if it brought any comfort, 'you do think Mrs. Ward will go to heaven?'

'Yes,' Thaddeus answered with great confidence, and added in a burst of gallantry, 'she'll have to, Retta, if she goes along with you, for you'll go there, sure!'

G. E. MEREDITH.

Beneficiary Education Societies.

THIS essay is designed to influence thoughtful business men. It must therefore be thorough and practical. It is said that reflecting Christians have begun to question the wisdom of granting pecuniary aid to young men who are preparing for the ministry.

We utter not a word of censure against such misgivings and questionings, but take pleasure in endeavoring to meet and satisfy them—they indicate intelligent, discriminating and conscientious stewardship of the money which GOD has entrusted to your care. They forecast the conclusion that, as reasonable and honest men, the removal of your doubts will deepen your interest, and enlarge your generosity toward the work of Beneficiary Education Societies.

The steward of GOD is never in a more hopeful state of mind

than when he asks, "Is this a work which my LORD and Master approves and would have me support?"

Let us, then, seek the guidance of the Divine Spirit, that we may "reason together" in the spirit of candor, more desirous to find the truth, on whichever side it may lie, than to confirm our present prejudices and convictions, whatever they may be.

In our discussion we will gladly follow the course prescribed by "Layman," taking up the three points he has named in their natural order.

The Essay is to be written for the purpose of (1) showing the value and importance of Beneficiary Aid Societies for the education of young men for the ministry of the Church. (2) The duty on the part of the laity generously to sustain such, and (3) effectually answering the objections commonly urged against beneficiary education.

I.—ARE BENEFICIARY EDUCATION SOCIETIES OF VALUE AND IMPORTANCE TO THE CHURCH?

This question takes us at once to the examination of the work itself. This is the logical process, and it has the endorsement of Scripture.

CHRIST himself says, "By their *fruits* ye shall know them." Let us look at the fruits which may be gathered from the experience of these societies.

1. First, however, it may be well to ask who organised these societies, and why? Who now control and support them?

In business circles, the *indorsement* determines the value of a security and the standing of the man. Let us apply this rule in determining "the value and importance" of Beneficiary Education Societies.

Who were the founders? and who have been the managers and supporters of these societies? Were they men of *ability*, judgment, and piety?

In looking over the records of several of the oldest and most influential Education Societies in America, we find among their most active members and most generous contributors, the names of the first bishops, statesmen, educators, jurists, bankers, and merchants of the country. We dare not trespass upon your time to transcribe the long list of well-known names, but must refer you to the published reports of the Bap-

tist, Methodist, Congregational, Presbyterian, and Episcopal societies.

As this essay is designed especially to influence the members of the Episcopal Church, we will be excused for making a few citations from the records of the two general societies of that Church, which have charge of the work of educating young men for the ministry.

"The Society for the Increase of the Ministry."

We find among its organisers and chief supporters, and in its governing body, Bishops Brownell, Chase, Hopkins, Otey, Atkinson, H. Potter, Williams, Clark, Littlejohn, Huntington, Paddock, Cox, Randall, and Armitage, etc.; the Rev. Drs. F. Vinton, Coit, Pynshon, Turner, Wells, Van Dusen, Cole, Morton, Buck, Twing, Gallaudet, etc.; Messrs. H. Seymour, Dr. Shattuck, J. B. Stebbins, H. P. Baldwin, H. Chauncey, L. B. Otis, J. A. King, W. C. Pierrepont, N. B. Sanford, J. E. English, S. G. Wyman, W. Alexander, W. Appleton, E. R. Mudge, Howard Potter, J. H. Shoenberger, H. Benjamin, J. S. Blachford, G. Corliss, etc.

The Evangelical Education Society, formerly called "The Divinity Students' Aid Society," was founded by Bishop Alonzo Potter, of Pennsylvania. The Bishop was remarkable for physical strength, mental power, and sound judgment. Through great exertion, he made his own way into the ministry. For some years, he was a Professor in Union College, from which he had graduated, and well knew by observation, as well as by his own experience, the trials and hardships of struggling students, and therefore appreciated their need of a kind and helping hand, and sought to relieve others from the self-denial and over-exertion which probably shortened his own valuable life. This effort was generously seconded and carried on by Bishops Smith, Lee, McIlvaine, Johns, Eastburn, Bedell, Stevens, Howe, Boone, Payne, etc.; Rev. Drs. Stone, Vinton, Muhlenberg, Tyng, Cotton Smith, Schenck, Dyer, Wharton, Suddard, Goodwin, Newton, Dalrymple, Sparrow, Andrews, etc.; Judges Esty, Storer, Conyngham, and Williamson; Governors Olden and Stevenson; Messrs. W. R. Lawrence, Russell Sturgiss, R. C. Winthrop, R. H. Ives, Chas. Tracey, Stewart Brown, I. D. Wolf, J. P. Morgan, W. H. Aspinwall, William Welsh, G. L. Harrison, Herman Cope, Jay Cooke, John Bohlen, A. J.

Drexel, Asa Whitney, John D. Taylor, Columbus Delano, Felix R. Brunot, etc.

You see, then, that many of our most thoughtful and busy public men have given a great deal of time, labor, and money to the organisation and maintenance of these societies. To-day the leading clergymen and laymen of the Church and country are serving on the various Boards of Management, and freely devote much time and thought to the work.

The existence and the long continuance of such societies throughout Christendom show that they have been found necessary and thought wise by the universal Church. Their indorsement by such men as we have named is a strong argument in their favor. It is hardly reasonable to suppose that these intelligent men, who have the best opportunities for judging the work, and know it most intimately, are under a delusion, and are thus giving the strength of their days to a useless and pernicious system of recruiting the ministry. No intelligent and busy man of this day, especially one who puts thought, prayer, and conscience into his work, and must, therefore, have a deep sense of his accountability, would thus spend his time and energy upon any work, unless he were well convinced, on good and sufficient evidence, that it is of great "value and importance to the Church."

We repeat and emphasise the fact that hundreds of the most intelligent Christians and Churchmen are now engaged in the work of furthering beneficiary education, and do it gladly, without compensation, and at a heavy outlay of their time and means. Should not this fact alone influence those who know the work less intimately, and incline them to believe that it is a work of great "value and importance to the Church"?

2. But we have promised to look at the *fruits of the work* upon which these men have bestowed so much labor and money. For the fruits we now inquire, and hope that we may not be disappointed in looking at the matter in its practical application. In this investigation we will confine ourselves to the Congregational, Presbyterian and Episcopal societies, as these are general societies and the oldest in the country, and the churches which they represent are acknowledged to have a high standard of fitness for the ministry.

"The American Education Society" was founded in 1815,

and is the oldest organization of the kind known to the writer. Its office is located in Boston, but its work extends throughout the country, and its benefactions are enjoyed by all denominations of Christians, and its operations cover a period of time nearly equal to the life of the nation.

It is in the largest sense a general work, and furnishes us with the best opportunity for testing beneficiary education, as applied to the student of theology. During the past seventy years, this Society has aided between seven and eight thousand young men.

The Rev. Dr. Woolsey, the former President of Yale College, examined the records of that college in the year 1850, for a period of thirty-three years, a whole generation, and reports: "I find that the American Education Society has given aid to two hundred and forty-nine students connected with the College." If they had stood simply upon the average level with the other students, as to scholarship, eighty-three of them would have received college honors and appointments. Yet one hundred and fifty-seven of them received such honors. It may not be true that every college would show as good a record as this. But the general law will be found everywhere the same. By a law almost invariable, their standing as scholars will be found considerably above the average scholarship of their fellow-students.

"The Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church" ranks next in age. It was organized in 1818. During its history it has aided (New School Pres.) between seven and eight thousand students. It reports: "The standing of these students has been fully equal to those unaided by the Board. If I had said superior, I would not have erred. The record shows them to have been above the average. A large proportion of them have become most active and useful ministers, and a goodly number of them are occupying most prominent positions in the Church."

"The Society for the Increase of the Ministry," which was organized in 1857, reports that it has given aid to about eleven hundred men, and adds: "We do not claim more than average position and usefulness for our beneficiaries in orders, but we believe and know that they are above rather than below the average." This Society further states: "It is a well-known fact that a by-law of the Society requires the grade of at least

70 in 100 in term reports, and that scholars are dropped from our list who fail under that rule. It has seldom been necessary to apply it, while the general average for our whole list in the various institutions is steadily above 80.

In the Executive Committee's Report, November 22, 1878, are found the following statements relating to the rank of our scholars at Trinity from the beginning:

"The Society adopted its first scholars in June, 1859. From that time to 1877 inclusive, they took the following prizes and honors:

"At Trinity College they took fifty prizes out of one hundred and fifty awarded. They took the Valedictory four times and the Salutatory ten times, and received seventy-two out of the one hundred and fifty-two of the honors in examinations."

"The Evangelical Education Society" was founded in 1862, and has aided about six hundred students seeking Holy Orders. This Society has published several pamphlets and tracts upon the question before us, which have the indorsement of a large and intelligent Board of Managers. From these we learn: "Our standard of fitness for the ministry is high and we adhere to it closely. We seek men who give promise of special usefulness in the sacred office, and aid those chiefly who have the ability, energy and thrift to largely provide their own support. These must bring testimonials from two clergymen and two laymen, who have known them intimately for two or three years, as to their fitness in body, mind, heart, and life, to become students of the ministry.

"We refuse about two-thirds of all who apply to us. The accepted are tested for a time and dropped from our roll, when any defects of character are discovered likely to make them inefficient in the Ministry.

"A few years since Bishop Clark was invited to make an address before our Annual Meeting. He declined, saying: 'I do not like Education Societies. I would prefer a Society for the *decrease* of the Ministry.' He was asked to examine our reports and see if this Society did not meet his requirements. After an examination, the good Bishop reversed his decision, saying: 'The guards which you have thrown around the Sacred Office must keep out more than it puts in. It must protect the Church from incompetent, and send mainly effi-

ent laborers into the LORD'S Vineyard. Such men are needed. We can not have too many of them."

We find the further statement: "In a large number of cases our students have won the honors of their respective institutions. The reports from their instructors are most satisfactory and encouraging.

"The President of one institution said: 'A large proportion of your students here are first-class men; two of them I would like to retain in the institution as adjunct professors.' The Dean of another faculty said: 'I have never seen so many able men in so small a company.' The President of another college said: 'Your men are among our very best students. I do not stand in doubt of one of them.' The President of a fourth institution said: 'Your little band here are all choice men.'"

It would be an endless task to make a list of the eminent college presidents, professors, bishops, pastors, and missionaries, who have entered the ministry through the aid granted by these four societies. It is said that over one-third of all the clergy of the country have reached the ministry through such aid. Many of these might not have entered it at all without that assistance, or would have entered with broken health, through over-exertion, or with less thorough preparation for the important work. Who can estimate the "value and importance" of this army of trained workers to the Church of CHRIST? These leaders in the LORD'S host have circled the globe with the light, the comfort, and the joy of salvation! Their influence for good is perpetual, and it is ever widening. Nations yet unborn will bless those who have sent them forth. Sowers and reapers will rejoice together in the general harvest at the last great day.

3. The "value and importance" of these Aid Societies is further seen in the advantages which they afford the student for the highest culture under the most favorable circumstances. Every one aided may not avail himself of his privileges, and fully appreciate the favorable condition for study under which they place him, but the great majority do, and they cheerfully and gratefully acknowledge their indebtedness to their benefactors.

A. By reason of such aid, the student is able to devote more time to study, and to make more thorough preparation

for the work of the ministry than he could do, if he were compelled to earn his own living during his course of study.

B. By reason of such aid he is spared that over-exertion which weakens the body and enfeebles the mind when hard physical labor is combined with close mental application.

C. By reason of such aid he is enabled to secure more books on general literature and science than are in his prescribed course and encouraged to a wider range of reading.

D. By reason of such aid he will be able to complete his course of preparation earlier in life, and give to the Church a longer service in the ministry.

4. Further, there are peculiar advantages in dispensing aid through these general societies.

A. As such societies are impersonal, and belong to the Church, the beneficiary can not know the individual who contributed to his support, and he is therefore spared that humiliation, which is supposed to spring from a sense of dependence upon and personal obligation to a fellow-man. The student also becomes more attached to the Church for the encouragement and sympathy which it gives him in this delicate and most acceptable manner.

B. Such societies are supervised by a large "Board of Management," consisting of clergymen and laymen from different sections of the Church. Such boards are not likely to be influenced by local interest and prejudices in selecting and aiding students, but to aid the best men whenever they may be found, and to consider the highest interest of the whole Church. On the other hand, aid dispensed by Dioceses, colleges, theological seminaries and individual bishops, rectors, and professors, must of necessity be given to such men as may be found in such institutions and localities where the scholarships are held, or the money is contributed, whether they be good, or indifferent men.

C. Such societies are able to employ a Secretary whose whole time is devoted to looking out fit men for the ministry, securing information concerning them, overlooking them in their course of preparation and aiding the Board of Management in their difficult, delicate, and responsible work. As a result of this careful supervision, these societies report that they refuse a large number who apply for aid, and that many others are tested for a time and then dropped. In the nature

of things, a comparison of views, by a Board of Management, in regard to the qualifications of men, must insure greater care and judgment in the selection than is possible to any individual who is not infallible.

Bishop Alonzo Potter gave a reason for organising such a Society that he would divide the responsibility of selecting men for the ministry, as the matter was too delicate and important to be left to the judgment of one man. It is manifest that young men who rely upon their own judgment, or upon the judgment of indulgent parents and friends, in deciding the matter of their call and qualifications for the ministry, are more likely to err than those who are counseled by a judicious Secretary and an intelligent Board of Management.

D. Such societies raise the standard of the ministry. The majority of men who have entered the ministry by a "short cut," and are imperfectly prepared for their work, have done so because they were too poor to take the prescribed course of instruction before ordination. For this reason the Bishops of the Episcopal Church are constantly obliged to give young men a dispensation from important studies, and ordain them after a very elementary examination, hoping that they will make up their studies before they are ordained to the Priesthood. But, alas! the pressure of their new duties in the Diaconate generally prevents the realisation of these hopes, and such men pass into full orders, and become rectors of churches, with very little more furniture and fitness for the ministry than that which is possessed by an ordinary lay-reader.

It is thus that the ministry is being filled with untrained and incompetent men, the standard of the ministry lowered, and the roll of the unemployed enlarged. If we would raise the standard, or keep it from sinking lower, we must give generously to our general Education Societies, which are careful in selecting and thorough in training. Men of character and worth, of mind and education, of industry and energy, will always find enough to do in the ministry, and the same appreciation and support that similar qualities secure in other callings. Such men these societies mainly put into the ministry, and their "value and importance to the Church" can not be over-estimated.

Beneficiary Educational Societies.

II. IS IT THE "DUTY OF THE LAITY GENEROUSLY TO SUSTAIN SUCH SOCIETIES?"

The Christian is commanded and exhorted to be "ready for *every* good work!" If this work be "good," approved of GOD and necessary to the enlargement of His Kingdom and the glory of His Name, it is the duty of every one to aid and further it, according to the ability and opportunity which GOD has given him. More than this, no one can neglect it without guilt. It is written, "To him that knoweth to do good and doeth it not, to him it is sin." We confess frequently, and I fear often lightly, that "we have left undone those things which we ought to have done!"

"Ye did it *not* unto me" is the great condemning sin of the world. Lukewarmness, indifference, and neglect of duty called down the blighting curse of GOD upon the Church of Asia. Great must be the offense of him who hinders this, or any other "good" work by unguarded and false statements, or by unjust or severe criticism!

From a matter so important as that of recruiting the Ministry of CHRIST, men dare not carelessly turn away, saying, "What is that to us? See thou to that!"

CHRIST instituted the Ministry for the salvation of the world. He commanded, "Go ye out into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature;" and declared, "He that believeth on the SON hath everlasting life; and he that believeth not the SON shall not see life, but the wrath of GOD abideth upon him!" Immeasurable issues! Can any man be insensible to them without guilt? Well does our Divine LORD ask, "What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" No wonder that he tells us, "There is joy among all the angels of GOD over one sinner that repenteth."

But, what have the laity to do with preaching the Gospel? Much more than they generally realise. No man heareth the Gospel for himself alone. There is nothing selfish in the Christian religion. The privilege of hearing the Gospel of Salvation involves the duty and the responsibility of making that Gospel known. It is only a question of means and methods with each one of us. The command is universal, "Let him that heareth say, come!" Those who possess the natural qualifications for the Ministry, and are impelled by a strong sense of duty toward it, and are willing to make any sacrifices to enter it, are doubtless called to that official position and duty, but this does not release all others. It would be as reasonable to say that the officers of any army must do all the fighting. They are only the leaders of the host. Every soldier must do valiant service. We must all aid the work of preaching the Gospel, by our prayers, our example, our money, and even by our voice, when we have the gifts for such service.

Every one should be able to say, "I have not hid thy righteousness in my heart; I have declared thy faithfulness and thy salvation." No one can say, with S. Paul, "I am pure from the blood of all men," unless he can add, "for I have not shunned to declare all the counsel of GOD."

We are all taught to pray without ceasing, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven"; the whole Church is commanded, "Pray ye therefore the LORD of the harvest that He would send forth laborers into His harvest." Certainly the duty to pray includes a good deal more. We must expect and look for answers to our prayers, and gladly aid and encourage all those whom GOD the Holy Spirit calls to His special service in the Ministry.

Just here, as an additional reason for confidence in the Education Societies of the Church, and as an argument for their generous support, let me call attention to the great care they observe in putting before every applicant for aid the necessity of a Divine call to the work of preparing for the Ministry. They place in his hand a tract setting forth the nature of the Divine call, and ask him to read the Ordination Services and examine well the requirements of the Church, and to scrutinise his motives carefully, assuring him, that no one can be truly useful and happy in the Ministry, unless he is called thereto

of GOD. Nothing more solemn, searching, and appropriate could be put into the hand of any man, at such a time, than the admirable tract of the Bishop of Oxford, which is used by one, or both, of the Church Societies.

Care here settles many questions. If we are reasonably sure that GOD calls a man to the Ministry, we know that He needs him and will provide for him, and all questions about "the over-supply of clergy, inadequate support," etc., vanish.

The "good" work of these societies in recruiting the Ministry is carefully administered and should be generously supported for many reasons.

A. It is the most important and far-reaching and beneficent work of the Christian Church. A faithful Ministry is the source and fountain-head of all other good works. Everything else depends upon and flows from it. Where would be the world of benevolence without the Ministry, the Church, and the Bible, which preach the Fatherhood of GOD and the Brotherhood of man? All the virtues of life and the graces of character which may be relied upon in the time of trial, spring from the appreciation of our true relations to GOD and man which we learn and acknowledge when we are "made wise unto salvation."

The preaching of the Gospel of CHRIST bears most directly and powerfully upon the salvation of men. We shall never be able to estimate the "value and importance" of these societies, and measure our obligation to support them, until we are able to fix a value upon the immortal souls which are saved through "the foolishness of preaching." We have already shown that the laity are under orders to aid, by prayer and effort, the work of securing a Divinely called Ministry, and we believe that there is a degree of responsibility here that attaches to no other work. No pen is equal to the task of measuring the importance of the Ministry in securing the salvation of man and promoting the glory of GOD.

We must descend to a lower plane.

B. It has most important bearing upon our temporal interests: as citizens and patriots you should give generously to these societies which seek to recruit the Ministry with devout, earnest, and educated men. It pays—the return in material wealth is many-fold. A remarkable book was published a few years ago, in support of Christian missions, called, *These for*

Those. The author gathers facts and acknowledgments from most unexpected sources, to prove that, aside from their own first and chief work of converting the heathen, our missionaries have done more for literature and science, trade and commerce and general civilisation, than all other agencies combined. Volumes might be written upon the enrichment of the world through the preaching of the Gospel. One incident in the experience of the writer must suffice. Some years ago an effort was made in the Legislature of our own State to tax all Church property. The churches, parsonages, and parish buildings had been duly valued. The tax bill was carefully drawn and ably discussed and met a very favorable reception on the first reading, and was likely to become a law. Clergy, church officers, and many leading citizens were alarmed. A committee was appointed to visit the capital of the State and see what could be done to defeat the bill. An argument was framed by the committee which was presented to a prominent country member of the House, who had strongly supported the proposed measure. He was scarcely willing to listen to the committee, but yielded to their entreaty. They called attention to the valuation of several of the churches and the amount of tax which was to be placed upon them, and said, "These churches will either be closed, or compelled to use for their own support the money now devoted to benevolence, and this too in neighborhoods where they are most needed." The committee added: "This is both unjust, for, by reason of the building of these churches, the real estate in the respective neighborhoods has greatly increased in value, and the State enjoys the benefit of this advance in the matter of increased tax." In one instance which was cited, the owner of real estate declared that his lots were worth \$200,000 more than they would have been without the church. The church improves the neighborhood morally, so there is more security to property, better order, and less expense in supporting the police force and administering criminal law. The church is a benevolent and charitable institution, and provides for the poor, the sick, the widow, and the orphan, and thus relieves the city and State, in great part, of this burden. In short, the churches are a blessing materially and morally, as well as religiously, and to tax them would be a realisation of the old proverb, "a penny wise and a pound foolish." The country member said earnestly: "Gentlemen,

you have opened my eyes. Give me that argument with the accompanying facts, and I will make a speech against the bill." Nothing more was heard of the proposed law.

These societies have sent hundreds, perhaps thousands, of earnest ministers into the great field of the world, both here and abroad. Each church organised and each mission planted is a center of beneficence, and not only gives present peace and joy to many souls and inspires them with the hope of glory, but adds largely to the material wealth of the world. If you would be a public benefactor, the best investment you can make would be to give generously to these societies.

C. It conserves the safety and security of our country and her institutions. Many decry the Ministry and speak sneeringly of the waning influence of the pulpit. Yet, who that reads the daily press does not know that whenever the minister is worthy, able and manly, he commands the respect of the community—and wields an influence that is rarely exercised by other ordinary men? The educated, judicious, and fearless minister of CHRIST is still received as an ambassador from Heaven, and he and his message are treated with the consideration which is due the commission which he bears and the power which he represents.

Many such Divinely commissioned men are sent out by these societies every year. Their conserving influence was never more needed than to-day. I am not an alarmist, but the signs of the times indicate trouble ahead. Indeed it is already upon us. The conflict between capital and labor is serious and wide-spread, the excitement upon the temperance question is great and increasing, the power of moneyed corporations and trade combinations is startling. The questions of the hour reach every condition and seriously disturb every relation of life. Our whole people are deeply interested in them, and look to the messenger of GOD for light and guidance. They must not look in vain, and will not, if we have a carefully selected and well educated Ministry. The salvation of our country and the preservation of our institutions greatly depend upon true views of the Gospel of CHRIST. The Ministry must bring the ethics of the Gospel to bear upon the living questions in debate. We need a religion of morals. Business must be conducted upon a higher plane. "Holiness to the LORD" must be written upon the bells of the horses.

The golden rule must be rung out upon the ears of all men, and the brotherhood of man become more than a figure of speech. As we love and value our country, we must do all that lies within our power to raise up a Ministry that is faithful and true.

A recent writer of keen observation and sound judgment has said, "As goes America, so goes the world, in all that is vital to its moral welfare!" Few of us know how America is going. There is much to encourage and yet much to alarm us. With our blessings come great perils. While reading Dorchester's *Problem of Progress* and Carnegie's *Triumphant Democracy*, it would be well to study *Our Country*, by Dr. Strong. We gratefully acknowledge our indebtedness to these authors.

The House of Bishops have just sounded a note of warning in their last Pastoral, saying, "That the increase of riches and the means of indulgence consequent thereupon are hazardous, not only to the spiritual life of the Church, but also to the tone of public morality and the highest interests of the State, needs little argument to prove. History abundantly confirms and illustrates the warnings of the Divine Word. Great nations intoxicated with success, lifted up with pride, enervated by luxury, inflamed with covetousness, have fallen from their early and purer state into corruption, decay, and ruin. Under the condition of modern civilisation new dangers spring from the inequalities of the social state, the increase of poverty, discontent, and pride being as marked as the accumulations of fortunes and the growth of luxury. How shall this discontent and misery be remedied, wealth recognise its stewardship, affluence own the brotherhood of man, and the less favored and successful of the community be rendered cheerful and contented with their lot?"

Gladstone, some time since, called attention to the rapid increase of the world's wealth and the dangers connected therewith. He estimates that the accumulations during the first fifty years of the century were greater than those of the previous 1800 years; and that the nations added to their material wealth from A.D. 1850 to 1870 more than they had accumulated in the previous fifty years! This country has more than kept pace with the world in this wonderful onward march. Since A.D. 1850, in one generation, our wealth has

increased six-fold. A.D. 1860, our wealth was about \$16,000,000,000. A.D. 1880, it had increased to \$43,000,000,000, or nearly 275 per cent. During these years, \$1,000,000,000 of property in slaves disappeared, 1,000,000 producers were destroyed by the war of Rebellion, and several millions more were withdrawn from productive labor. Certainly the history of the world furnishes no parallel to this rapid and vast advance in wealth. History declares in the ruins of Babylon and Thebes, of Carthage and Rome, that wealth has no conserving power; that it tends rather to enervate and corrupt.

A Christian editor points to the fact that "the great estates of Rome in the time of the Cæsars, and of France in the time of the Bourbons, rivaled those of the United States to-day; but both nations were on their way to the frenzy of revolution, not in spite of their wealth, but, in some true sense, because of it." Sumner remarks, concerning our prosperity: "Nations have decayed, but it never has been with the imbecility of age." Livy says: "Avarice and luxury have been the ruin of every great state."

Mammon is King. Our King is an autocrat and reigns with almost undisputed power. Mr. Irving's "almighty dollar" is more than a figure. Wealth is the surest means to almost every position in life. "Mammon wins his way, where seraphs might despair." The *Chicago Tribune* tells us [1884] that twenty of our seventy-six senators are millionaires. The aristocracy of wealth is fast becoming recognised everywhere. "Money is an ever-increasing power and an ever-increasing object of desire." We should not then be surprised that men make haste to get rich, and are not over scrupulous about their business methods. Great fortunes are not speedily made in legitimate transactions. The traders in oil, grain, cotton, etc., buy and sell many times more gallons, bushels, and bales each year, than are produced in the country! These men, and countless others, are perilously near that pit which the Divine LORD reveals at the end of the road they are on. "They that will be rich fall into temptation, and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition."

The dangers of great wealth are not merely personal, they are public. They affect the State. This is not the cry of croakers and pessimists, but of our calm, thoughtful, and wise

men. Bancroft says, "Sedition is bred in the lap of luxury." It is painfully true that the rich and the poor are becoming more and more estranged, becoming distinct and opposing classes. We have among us the dangerously rich and the dangerously poor. There must be a check and restraint put somewhere, and that soon if we would save the nation from ruin. Self-gratification must not outgrow self-control. There should be a balance between our material wealth and our moral power. For this adjustment we need a ministry of wisdom and courage. Moreover, men who understand the condition of things and are able to grapple with the evils confronting us. Men who have experience and sympathy with the poor. Men who can touch the hidden springs of the thought and feeling of the people. Men accustomed to hardship, not those who require "soft places." Herodotus tells us that "delicacies and heroes never grow in the same soil."

Does not the whole history of the Church of GOD teach us that we must look to the "bone and sinew" of the land for a heroic ministry, such as is specially needed at this time?

The prophets of old, who "cried aloud and spared not," were of the people. CHRIST and his Apostles were the hardy sons of toil. The great Reformers of the sixteenth century were generally from the masses. Who have carried the banner of the Cross to the mission fields of the world, where moral heroism is so essential and conspicuous? Almost universally the sons of the middle and lower classes of society.

Not many years ago the younger sons of the nobility and gentry of England, who were without patrimony, were sent into the Ministry that they might secure private livings and public benefactions. The "fox-hunting and horse-racing clergy," became the shame and reproach of the Church, and contributed largely to the growth of Dissent. Happily the ministry of the Mother Church has been recruited in late years, through aid societies, from the rank and file of the nation, and now, through the devotion, learning and self-sacrifice of her clergy, the Church of England has become one of the most earnest, active, and aggressive missionary bodies of the world.

Many of the ablest and most successful men of to-day are from the people. Such men ask no favors and fear no responsibilities, they know how "to abound and how to suffer want."

Sad will be the day to the Church and the nation, when these shall be debarred the pulpit, and Holy Orders be restricted to the sons of the wealthy. We need such men especially in the Episcopal Church. The possessors of the vast fortunes of the country are very generally members of this Church. What could be more wise and reasonable than to recruit the Ministry from those who could go to the rich as representatives of the masses, competent to arbitrate and to adjust difficulties, to preach peace and reconciliation. Special deference is paid to earnest, scholarly, and practical ministers of the Episcopal Church. They will always meet a respectful hearing from rich and poor. Natural ability and innate refinement, broadened by culture and experience, will always command the consideration they merit, without regard to the antecedents of the possessor.

All men expect the minister to be faithful and honor him for his fidelity. They recognise the fact that he is sent to them with a Divine message, and they will heed that message when he speaks "the truth in love" and shows clearly that "thus saith the LORD."

America must go right, if we would have the world go right. The world looks to free and enlightened America for an example of just and generous dealing with men of all classes and conditions. The world must not look to us in vain, and will not, if we secure from the people a true and earnest ministry, who can treat understandingly with the wealthy classes.

We justly give the first place to the societies which supply the Church with such a ministry. A work of such paramount importance, far-reaching in operation, embracing all the private and public interests of men, should certainly command the attention and secure the generous support of every citizen.

In addition to the considerations already urged, there are others of a personal and individual character, which should induce "the laity to generously sustain such societies."

The doing of any good work carries a blessing with it. It is every where true that "He that watereth shall be watered also himself,"—and "It is more blessed to give than to receive." This must be specially true in the work of saving souls for whom CHRIST died, which is chiefly furthered by preaching the Gospel.

Beneficiary Educational Societies.

III.

ARE THERE ANY VALID "OBJECTIONS URGED AGAINST BENEFICIARY EDUCATION?"

Often when a Christian duty is pressed upon the intelligence and conscience of a man, especially when it involves self-denial and sacrifice, he excuses himself from its performance by raising objections to the work in hand. These objections may be very sincere and earnest and yet quite unreasonable, and need only to be viewed in the light of facts, and arguments to be removed, so that the appeal to duty, for the time resisted, may have full force.

We are asked to answer "the objections commonly urged against beneficiary education." This requires us to examine the principle of beneficiary education, and then to look at its application to the work of preparing young men for the ministry. This is a wise requirement. If the principle be good and sound, it remains for the objector to show why it does not apply to the theological student.

A. This principle of beneficiary education has been at work in our country from the beginning. It would require great courage to oppose its application to our secular education, even in its highest and most expensive form. The Pilgrim Fathers were scarcely well housed in their log huts near Plymouth Rock, when they founded Harvard College. Virginia was an almost unbroken forest, when William and Mary College was opened. The University of Pennsylvania came into being while the founder of our Republic was in his infancy. Princeton and Yale colleges were in operation long before our country had achieved its independence. History furnishes no parallel of such energetic effort and generous sacrifice in providing higher education for the youth of a new country.

These generous efforts have been continued down to this day. Many millions of dollars have been invested in lands,

buildings, libraries, apparatus and endowments, by reason of which college education has been brought within the reach of all. Without this general provision the wealthiest could scarcely afford to attend these institutions. *The man who goes to Harvard and pays full tuition does not meet half the cost of his education. He is a beneficiary to the extent of the other half.* What is true here is also true with reference to the universities abroad. They are largely built and supported by state grants and individual gifts. So that, whether our youth be educated at home or on foreign soil, they are, to a great extent, beneficiaries of the Church, the State and the individual.

The same principle is now in operation throughout our whole educational system, down to the primary school, which takes care of the child as soon as he is able to leave his mother's side. You see then, that all the great educational institutions of the world are benevolent and beneficiary institutions. It is only by State, Church, and individual generosity that these institutions have been sufficiently endowed to enable the best of us to avail ourselves of their privileges. The actual cost of the higher education which they afford would be beyond the means of almost every man. Accepting these public benefits ourselves, and, perchance, depending upon a wealthy parent or friend for the remainder of our support, while availing ourselves of them, how can we logically find fault with the young student who accepts the aid of a society which takes the place of the poor or deceased parent or needed friend.

We uphold and advocate the system of beneficiary education both as a principle and as a necessity. We believe it to be a system supported by sound logic and universal experience. To assert that beneficiary education "destroys manliness," is to unman every one who has been in a public school, college, or theological seminary, and to brand the whole educational system of the nation as a scheme of pauperism.

B. While the principle is admitted by many to be good and sound in its application to secular education, they object to its further application or enlargement so far as to include the board and clothing of the student. He may, it is said, receive instruction at half-price, or have his tuition fees remitted, but to accept food and clothing must seriously affect his manliness.

This is a very nice distinction. The point of the objection seems to depend upon the shape in which the benefaction comes to the student. If it comes in the way of instruction it is all right, if in the way of food and clothing it is all wrong. How would the case stand if the generous donors of the munificent endowments which now enrich our colleges had given them for board and clothing, and had constrained the student to pay for his instruction in full? Does not this question show the fallacy of the objection?

If it were a question of entire support, then it might have more weight. But the General Education Societies, only grant partial support, they are aid societies. This is distinctly declared by the Evangelical Education Society, and I believe it is true of all others. The society just named states in a public circular: "As far as possible we confine our aid to those who largely provide their own support, rarely granting over \$150 a year."

Again, our chief colleges have very large funds from which students may draw to pay their general expenses. Harvard College alone, grants over \$40,000 a year to poor young men seeking the various professions, and no one seems to think that their manliness is thereby imperiled. Why should such aid be so dangerous to the student of Divinity?

C. It is objected that aid makes the way into the Ministry too easy, and removes the necessity for conflict with difficulties which alone develops self-reliance and manly independence. Of course assistance makes a young man's entrance into the Ministry less difficult than it was formerly. This is the design of such aid. But it does not assure him of an easy, an early, or an unprepared entrance into the sacred office, but the very reverse. These societies are not unmindful of that great law of our being, that conflict with difficulties makes a man conscious of his powers, calls out and develops all the best attributes of his character. We doubt if any one ever became a true man without conflict. There is a point, however, at which difficulties depress the spirits, dwarf the mind, and enfeeble the body, and may even crush the truest man. These societies would by no means lift every burden from the student's back, or remove every obstacle out of his way. They would only spare him that amount of labor and effort which is injurious to both mind and body.

They rarely contribute more than half the student's expenses.

Pain and peril are also very important elements in the discipline of character and the development of Christian manhood. The student may not therefore unnecessarily expose himself to danger, or afflict his own body. Neither is he justified in courting hardships, and provoking opposition as a means of discipline. He should save himself all unnecessary and harmful effort and toil. The sole purpose of these societies is to aid him in this endeavor, and in doing so they do not believe that they endanger his manhood, or reduce the quality of the Ministry.

The student will meet obstacles soon enough without seeking them, and his burdens in life will be sufficiently heavy without adding to them. There are various kinds of difficulties in the pathway of life: each heart knoweth its own bitterness. Strife with poverty is not the sole means of discipline, nor the most ennobling of conflicts. There is a struggle of mind and spirit far more general and of far higher character. Otherwise, what would become of the manhood of those who are educated at the expense of kind parents and guardians, those who will never earn a dollar, or meet a serious obstacle until they enter the ministry? Are we to believe there is no manhood among clergy who come from this class of our citizens? No manhood among the sons of the wealthy who have entered the Ministry? To state the proposition is to answer it.

I feel confident that pecuniary aid given to theological students must be less harmful than similar aid given to other students. They stand in much greater need of it, as the prescribed course of study in our leading churches is very long and exacting. This matter is well stated in an issue of one of these societies:

Almost any man with an ordinary English education can be admitted to the practice of either law or medicine after attending lectures for two or three winters, or by spending the same time in the private office of a practitioner—such students sometimes pay part, or all, of their expenses, while engaged in study, by services rendered to their preceptors.

We have had a number of cases in our experience, of men called of the HOLY SPIRIT from the practice of law, medicine, engineering,

etc., to the office and work of the Ministry—men who stood well in their profession, who required aid to reach the Ministry, although they had entered their former profession without either aid or great difficulty.

The education of Divinity students, in the Episcopal Church at least, is peculiar and their need special. The course of study is very absorbing and protracted. To become efficient preachers, they should acquire, in addition to a common-school education, three difficult languages, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. To this knowledge must be added the usual college course in rhetoric, logic, philosophy, and general literature, and a pretty thorough acquaintance with theological science and lore.

The most approved course of study, for one who has but an ordinary English education, will occupy a period of nine years devoted exclusively to study. This can not well be shortened without, endangering the future usefulness of the student, and circumscribing the field of labor.

They dare not incur debt for their education, as other students may safely do, as in the Ministry they will rarely obtain more than a meager support, and would never be able to pay such debt.

Our Theological Schools provide a perfectly free education to all who enter them, but the cost to the Church is enormous. Every student accepts this bounty without hesitation. Has the manhood of the student been affected by this course? By no means. Why not? The theological student feels that he is not receiving his education for his own benefit, but for the good of others. If his education were for his own personal advantage, for his advancement in the world, the case might be different. He receives it, however, simply as a trust, of which he is the steward, a loan which he proposes to return to the Church, in strengthening her borders, and in building up the waste places of the earth.

D. It is thought that the granting of aid tempts inferior men into the Ministry, and leads some to seek it merely for the position and influence which it secures. Every good thing in this world is abused, and doubtless there is some danger here. These aid societies, however, are so careful in their selection and oversight of students, that I believe very few unworthy men enter the Ministry through their agency. The facts given under the first head should set aside this objection. In addition to what is there said, I may quote from a recent

circular of the Evangelical Education Society: "We say deliberately, and as the result of the most thorough investigation, that a large proportion of the best men in the Christian Ministry have been aided by Education Societies, and that they would have been kept out of the Ministry without that aid, or would have entered it imperfectly prepared for their sacred duties, or with enfeebled health."

"After careful inquiry and years of experience in the work of education, we affirm that the withholding of aid almost invariably hastens the ordination of candidates for Holy Orders; so that well-conducted Education Societies are the Church's best protection against an uneducated Ministry."

The Society for the Increase of the Ministry, in reviewing twenty-five years of its work, says: "The scholars of the society are patiently day and night laboring as stewards of the Divine mysteries throughout the whole field of the Church in this land and on heathen shores. They form one-seventh of its living Ministry. They represent, wherever they are, the highest measure of ministerial ability, learning, and faithfulness. To them is committed the spiritual teaching and guidance of over fifty thousand of the communicants of this Church, not forgetting unnumbered others, who through their labors have attained and entered into rest. Surely we may conclude on this review, there is abundant occasion for gratitude to ALMIGHTY GOD that, a quarter of a century since, He put it into the hearts of a few of His servants, brooding upon the sore needs of the Church, and the earnest desires of many of her sons to serve at her altars, to lay the foundation of the Society for the Increase of the Ministry, and that He has so evidently 'prospered their handiwork,' drawing to their godly purpose many sympathetic hearts, raising up a continual succession of friends and benefactors, and sending forth yearly bands of faithful laborers into the LORD'S harvest."

The Secretary of the Evangelical Education Society asserts in a public letter:

I have been interested in beneficiary education for more than twenty-five years. During that time the Evangelical Education Society, has sent into the Ministry over 400 men. They generally adhere to the Gospel principles and the simple worship of our Church, and are with rare exceptions doing efficient work in the Ministry. Many of them already occupy posts of large influence

and usefulness. Some are Bishops ; six are eminent missionaries. A number are Rectors of leading city parishes. Indeed, they are earnestly sought for, and gladly received wherever they go, and as a rule they are an honor to the Ministry and to the Church.

Let others speak of these men. I select a few reports from Bishops who have charge of the large portion of our graduates ; Bishops who represent widely separate sections of the country, and various schools of Churchmanship.

Bishop Clark, of Rhode Island, says : " They are regarded by us all as men of the highest ability, and they have all been most active and useful laborers here. They have exercised their ministry to the glory of GOD and the edification of His Church."

Bishop Pinkney, of Maryland, writes : " All of them stand high in the list of clergy. Most, if not all, of them give promise of distinction in after-life. They are presbyters of whom any Diocese may be proud."

Bishop Clarkson, of Nebraska, writes ; " As good men as we have in the West for zeal, piety, efficiency, and usefulness."

Bishop Whitaker, of Nevada, writes : " I am certain that the average ability, fidelity and fitness for usefulness of these men is higher than the average of the same qualities, in any Diocese in which I am acquainted. I only wish that the whole body of the clergy could become as good."

If your limits would permit we might make similar quotations from the records of leading Aid Societies. Were it proper to institute a comparison between the sons of the wealthy and the sons of the poor now working in the Ministry of the Episcopal Church of this country, I do not think the advantage would be on the side of the wealthy, and most certainly the comparison would not be to the disparagement of the sons of the poor man.

We have already shown that the experience of the Church of England was not happy in the matter of reserving the Ministry for the younger sons of the nobility and gentry, who were without patrimony. If the Ministry of this country should ever be confined to the sons of the wealthy, we might have a state of things here that was the shame and reproach of England, not many years ago. We have seen that the Ministry there was greatly improved by the introduction of the sons of the poor into Sacred Orders by the many Aid So-

cieties which have been formed within the century. We could give large data here, but time fails us. It can be shown that hundreds of the brightest and best men who have entered the Church of England, in recent years, have come from the middle and lower classes and have been assisted by these Societies, during their preparation for Holy Orders.

Conscientious Christian men feel the responsibility of dispensing the money committed to their trust, and they of necessity must be very careful in selecting the students to whom it is to be given, and it is therefore but a just and reasonable expectation that beneficiaries should be superior men. That they are such is fully established by the experience of the oldest Societies to whose records we have access, and from which we have quoted largely.

As there is a great deal of loose, careless criticism of the clergy, it may be well to quote the opinion of Dr. John G. Holland, who has had large experience with our professional and literary men, and is careful in his statements. He says: "The bright consummate flower of our American college system is the American Ministry. The greatest amount of genuine thinking done in the world is done by the preachers. I have received more intellectual nourishment and stimulus from the pulpit than from all other sources combined."

The Secretary of an Education Society relates the following incident on this point: "A prominent lawyer of Philadelphia asked me, 'Why is it we have so many ordinary men in the ministry?' I gave him the reply of the good Bishop who was asked the same question; 'Well, you see,' replied the Bishop, 'we do the best we can with the material we have to draw from. We do not select the clergy from the angels but from the laity.' But, he continued, 'I thought it was admitted.' 'Not at all. Examine and judge for yourself. The lawyers in our city largely outnumber the clergy of all denominations. The doctors also outnumber the clergy very largely. You know our professional men intimately. Pick out your first class lawyers and doctors, and then your ministers of the same stamp, and see how the roll stands.' He did so, and admitted that the pulpit of the city could furnish two men of intellectual force and culture for every such man he could name connected with the bar." The same is true in every considerable town. In the country districts, the minister is usually the

only man who can fit the farmer's son for college. Are not the clergy the "chief speakers" at nearly all educational and benevolent meetings, as well as at religious gatherings? Are not the clergy in large part the officers and professors of our colleges? Are they not the chief lecturers of the country? There is nothing remarkable in this. It should be so. They are the "called," "chosen," "picked" men of the Christian Church, and in the leading denominations they must go through a long and severe course of preparation for the Ministry.

E. It is said that we suspend the law of supply and demand which has been relied upon to recruit the other professions and may be safely trusted to fill up the ranks of the clergy.

We have shown that it is not true and there is no public aid given to young men who are seeking the other professions. Aid can be had whenever it is needed. Harvard College alone gives vast sums to such students. Two of her own most brilliant presidents, and many other of her professors and officers, have been beneficiaries. One of the largest individual gifts ever made was for the founding of Lehigh University, that educates mining engineers freely. In connection with our chief Law Schools, Medical Colleges, and Art Academies, there are scholarships, prizes, and other provisions for aiding men and women into the various professions. Are these to be looked upon as "premiums upon inferiority," and "obstructions to the law of supply and demand"? I do not know that I can adopt everything that a recent essayist has said upon the Ministry being a law unto itself, but there is a great deal of truth in the following remarks:

It is said that it is absurd to attempt to increase the number of the clergy, while the Church does not comfortably support those already in the field. This appears plausible, but it is based upon the false assumption that the pay of the clergy is regulated by the laws of supply and demand which govern the ordinary business affairs of life.

In truth, however, the supply and demand in the clerical profession are governed by laws peculiarly their own; for there is nowhere any demand for the services of the clergy until such is created by their labors. Nowhere in the world was there a call made for the preaching of the Gospel by the Apostles until they went themselves, and by the preaching of the Gospel made men realise its

perfect capability of meeting the needs which they felt within them.

The ministers of the Gospel must go out and cultivate the fields lying waste, just as the settlers take up and cultivate the vacant lands of the republic. The returns are in proportion to the amount of cultivation. Every one who takes land and makes a home, creates his own supplies from the material lying in the soil around him, and precisely so it is in the Church ; for every missionary of the Gospel sows his own seed, which in time yields a harvest.

After twenty years of experience, I give it as my candid opinion that a clergyman of good common sense, moderate ability, and having the grace of God in his heart, can find a field open in almost any town where there are a dozen communicants, and, dividing his time between two or more places, can get support. That, at the start, is more than usually falls to the lot of a lawyer or a physician.

So far no mention has been made of foreign missions. There never has been a sufficient number of volunteers for these, though no complaint has been made that the salaries paid in such missions are not large enough!

It is urged that there are many unemployed ministers and therefore the Ministry must be already oversupplied. Doubtless, the great obstacle to our work is the impression that we have a large number of available ministers unemployed—men who could and would fill acceptably the vacant posts if a due support were offered them. The facts on this point have been greatly exaggerated.

The Church loses many ministers every year by death, and others are laid aside by infirmity and advanced age. The Church needs a large number of men without permanent and regular charge to supply pulpits during the sickness or absence of the rectors. Many prefer this position, as they do not like to leave the large cities, where they have peculiar facilities for educating their children, and are able to engage in teaching and profitable literary labor in connection with the work of the Ministry. We need them as professors, secretaries, assistants, etc.

Beyond these we think it would be difficult to find any number of available men without charge. The few who may have nothing to do are not able or willing to take permanent work wherever it may be provided. If the fact be otherwise, it is allowed to have undue influence upon the question of our

need. There are thousands of lawyers without briefs and of doctors without patients, and yet we educate our sons for these professions feeling that there is still room for every one who proves himself fit for his work. There are men without parishes. There always have been. There always will be. If we are to wait until these are all employed, before we make any additions to the Ministry we will wait in vain and forever. Doubtless there are many men in the Ministry who should never have been ordained. Some run before they are called, and utterly fail. Others are hindered in their work by obstacles which they could not foresee. It is very difficult to get at the elements of success in the Ministry. Indeed, they are so peculiar that we can scarcely forecast the success of any man, or at least the degree of his success. Nothing but an experiment will determine it.

It certainly can not be said that a minister's success will be in proportion to his natural ability, or to the extent of his culture, as we find all over the Church men of superior mind and very fine attainments who are preaching to a few scattered sheep in some far-off country parish, while others, of very moderate ability and learning, are found in large spheres and exercising great influence. There is, doubtless, both a true and false success, but even usefulness is not always in the ratio of the ability or solid acquirements of the minister.

There is far more expected and required of a minister of CHRIST than of any other professional man. He is hindered by numberless obstacles which would avail nothing against him in other positions in life. Any one who occupies a fair standpoint for overlooking the Church is often amazed at the ill success of one clergyman and the remarkable success of another. We are ever disappointed. Our judgment of men is daily reversed. Add to all this the difficulty of making acquainted and bringing together vestries needing men and clergymen who want churches, and you can easily see why so many ministers seem not to have found their niche, and are ever restless or remain without permanent charge, notwithstanding the large number of vacant parishes and unoccupied mission fields in the Church.

It will be conceded also that our Bishops and leading clergymen and laymen, who represent the Church in the General Convention, have the best opportunities for informing them-

selves upon the state of the Church, and are the most competent judges of her needs, and that their statements are made with care. They assure us that there are hundreds of vacant parishes and mission posts in this country for which we ought to educate men. Alas! we all know that the destitution in the foreign field is appalling.

Hear the emphatic testimony of our General Convention, given by a unanimous vote, in the year 1865, since which time there has been a great falling off in the number of our candidates for Holy Orders: "The missionary field which the providence of GOD opens to our Church is immense, and the supply of ministers and candidates for the holy Ministry is utterly insufficient."

"If the treasury of our Mission Board were full to overflowing, we have not ordained ministers enough to meet the demand."

The very last utterance of the Episcopal Church, the Pastoral Letter of the House of Bishops, is very emphatic: "We search in vain among our Christian households for candidates for Holy Orders who shall recruit the wasting ranks of our clergy. . . . Our young men, instead of being attracted by the sacrifices inseparable from a true priesthood in the Church of GOD, are, like so many Demases, turned away from it by the love of the present world."

The States of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia contain over one-fourth of the population of the United States and more than one-half of the communicants of the Church, and have within their borders four of the chief Theological Seminaries of the Church, and yet in all the Dioceses of this vast area there is only one candidate for each 2,000 communicants, scarcely one for each 100,000 of the population! If we look West, where there are many more openings for young men, the supply is even more scanty and the case more deplorable.

An incident puts this matter in a clear light. Some time since a banker in New York remarked to an officer of an Education Society: "I am growing skeptical about the work of your society. So much is said of the unemployed and unsuccessful men in the Ministry. I wish you would call at my office and talk over the matter." He made the call and was greeted with the question, "What proportion of your young

men turn out well?" His reply was, "What proportion ought to succeed in their work?" "I do not know." "Oh, yes, you do; you know better than I. You have been a banker in Wall Street for half a century. What proportion of bankers have been successful within that time?" "Very, very few." "You have known nearly all the leading business men in New York; what proportion of them have been successful?" "Not three per cent." "You have several thousand lawyers in New York; to how many could you with perfect confidence consign an important case?" "Not fifty." "You have several thousand doctors; to how many of them could you apply with the same confidence in case of dangerous illness?" "Very few indeed."

"In the light of these facts of your experience, what proportion of my men ought to turn out well?" "If you get one-third, I will be perfectly satisfied." "I will say as an honest man, if I did not get two-thirds, I would give up the work." His friend opened his check-book and drew a check of a thousand dollars for the Society, saying, "I think you have the advantage of the argument."

G. It is urged, lastly, that the inadequate support of the clergy indicates that there is no necessity for recruiting the Ministry, until those already in the field are properly provided for.

It is asked, are there not many applicants for every vacant parish that offers a support? Alas! this is too true! Here we touch an evil and a wrong which we can not fully discuss—the inadequate support of the clergy. These applicants for new fields are generally well employed elsewhere, and only seek a change because they are depressed under a sense of small appreciation, and hope that under less anxious care they may do better service for CHRIST and for His Church.

It can not be questioned that our clergy generally are very meagerly supported; that the compensation received for their services is rarely equal to their talent, education, and labor. Neither can it be questioned that comparatively few of the laity have any due sense of their responsibility to support the Gospel in their own churches, or to send it to others. There is an amazing disproportion between the amount which we spend upon ourselves and that which we devote to the cause of CHRIST. A fearful responsibility rests somewhere with

regard to the better support of our feeble churches and outlying mission stations. These very facts, however, show the great need of ministers of the Gospel, for the only remedy for this state of things is the able, constant, and fearless preaching of the Gospel, which is the power of GOD both to convert the world and to reform the Church.

Bishop Alonzo Potter treated this subject in a most wise and practical manner in several of his Convention addresses, saying: "I have tried in vain for months, and even, in some one or two instances, for more than two years, to supply some vacant parishes with ministerial services, because I have been unable to hold out to men with families the prospect of adequate support. I conceive that I would be wanting in my duty if I did not entreat the renewed attention of the laity to this subject. I well know that in some of our parishes, even with every effort which liberality could make, the salary would be meager unless increased from without. In how many cases are the claims of the Gospel, the interests of the soul, postponed until all the demands of taste, and even caprice, are gratified, and then a fraction of the poor remains bestowed, perhaps with grudging hand, on a stinted pastor? Can we wonder if the dews of the Divine Spirit are withheld from such hearts and such congregations?"

Notwithstanding this inadequate support, it is a striking fact, which bears both upon the need and the blessedness of the work, that the clergy themselves almost unanimously and ardently desire that the Holy Spirit may direct their sons into the Ministry. Who better know the needs, the qualifications, the trials, and the comforts of the Ministry than the clergy themselves, and whose testimony upon this subject would have equal weight?

In conclusion, I may say that I have examined carefully the work of four of the oldest and largest Education Societies of this country, which have sent into the Ministry not far short of 20,000 young men, going over their records for a large part of the century. I have also given some examination to similar societies in England, which have sent a very large number of men into the Ministry, and it appears to me from this careful review of their records that this question of the propriety of educating theological students at the expense of the Church seems almost superfluous. We are so shut up to this mode of

supplying the Ministry, and are so entirely dependent upon it, that no other way has been suggested. It is an easy matter to find fault with a system, but it is often a difficult thing to suggest a better one.

We doubt if there would be any additions whatever of well-trained men to the Ministry, if the Church should cease to provide, in great part, at least, for their education free of expense to the student. Nearly every man now in the Ministry who has taken the regular course of study has been educated very largely at the expense of the Church, and we question if one man in a hundred could afford to pay the actual cost of his tuition alone.

Computing, at a low rate, the interest on the money invested in the grounds, buildings, libraries, and professorships of our theological schools, and dividing that amount by the number of students at those schools, we find that the Church now pays nearly \$1,000 a year for the education of each candidate for her Ministry. If it be right to go thus far in paying the expenses of our theological students, on what ground should we object to give the additional \$100 or \$200 a year which many of them need for their board and clothing? And why should they object to receive this money from the Church, since all students without hesitation accept their tuition at her hands.

About one-third of the men now in the Christian Ministry have received their board and clothing from the Church. About one-third of the students now in our seminaries are receiving the same. Those who are opposed to educating students at the public expense must consent to reduce the Ministry at least one-third and to send home at least one-third of our present theological students, and also to charge the remaining two-thirds an amount for their tuition which no man would pay.

ROBERT C. MATLACK.

The Parish Priest and the Parish Music.

THE youngest man to-day in Holy Orders can readily recall the time when, outside the large cities, and indeed sometimes within their limits, the music of the parish church received little care or attention. In most cases it was gladly

given up to any one who cared to provide it, and throughout the Church it was marked by a plainness and simplicity in keeping with the limited musical knowledge of the day, and broken only here and there where appeared certain enthusiasts distinguished more by zeal than knowledge.

The twenty-second Canon under Title I. of the Digest represents to-day a principle of leadership which, as truly then as now, was ascribed to the clergy. The parish priest was the leader in teaching as he undertook to show for GOD'S glory, according to the petition of the Ember prayer, by his "life and doctrine." He was the leader in discipline, as he exercised the ministerial power to bind and to loose. He was as truly the *ἀρχιερεύς* as he stood before a kingdom of priests and offered their sacrifice of prayer and praise. So that, without concerning ourselves about the particular period when appeared the Canon referred to, it is evident that in a matter which so intimately concerned the common worship of the Church, the parish priest must have been held responsible, to a certain extent at least, for the effect of one element in the Church service so vitally important in the homage offered by the body of CHRIST to her Exalted Head, so capable of perversion in the hands of those whom the Canon aptly terms "vain and ungodly persons." Indeed the application of the principle was never better enforced, nor the responsibility more strongly particularised than in the declaration made so long ago as 1859, when the House of Bishops, assembled in the General Convention held in S. Paul's Church, Richmond, Va., in sounding a note of alarm about the growing worldliness of Church music and the surrender of its control into the hands of organists and choirs, declared the firm conviction that there could be "no material improvement of our public worship in the particulars mentioned, except as each parish minister shall perform the duty assigned him by the law of this Church, which, in the words of the rubric, is that 'with such assistance as he can obtain from persons skilled in music, he shall give order concerning the tunes to be sung at any time in his church, and especially shall suppress all light and unseemly music, and all indecency and irreverence in the performance.'"

The last resolution of the declaration emphasises the duty of the Rectors "in our larger and older cities" as to the example set by their own churches.

This sounds well. The whole declaration shows the care of the Bishops lest the worldliness of the music of the Church should grow to such an extent that not only all reverence might be lost, but moreover the faithful debarred from participation in a large part of the Common Prayer. There was a time when the principle recognised could be followed, and was followed. After Gregory had simplified the legacy of heathen art with which the Church started out, a long period elapsed during which the control of the Church music was actually in the hands of the clergy because they alone understood music. The degeneration of sacred music by the introduction of worldly melodies, which occasioned the revival of Palestrina in the sixteenth century, was due to the degeneration of the clergy, who guided but did not guard the sacred trust. An exact parallel lies between the course of the art in the centuries immediately preceding the Reformation, and the changes going over its face at the present time. At both periods the alteration in the character of the music of the Church could be attributed to the inrush of worldliness. At both periods there was a strong assertion of the power of music as a language of the emotions. At the Reformation this was a discovery; now it is only an amplification. At the Reformation men had learned that music could speak but, at most, was finite; now they think it is infinite.

The only difference discernible is this, that in the earlier case sacred music degenerated because of the failure of its guardians, in the latter case it had no guardians to fail. The revival of pure sacred music by Palestrina was an attempt to stem the current of secularism which had turned the Church service into a show. The same tide is now overflowing the Church. Compliance with the principle "uttered or unexpressed" which underlies our Canon was possible in days when the clergy, as a body, understood the art of music. It can not be possible in an age when the clergy merely "like" it, but really know little about it.

The Bishops' appeal at Richmond in 1859 was made to clergy who, if we except a few here and there, were not only unable to comply with the Canon to any great extent but were becoming yearly more so. It was undoubtedly proper to remind the clergy of the state of affairs, and to suggest that on them as pastors of portions of the flock lay the duty

of making marked alterations in the existing state of things, if any improvement whatever were to come. But if the laity were blind, the clergy were no less so, and how about the blind leading the blind? It might be well to talk to men about "simple and appropriate music," but then there is a difference of opinion about what is "simple and appropriate," and what is to be done by a parson who can barely distinguish a chant from a hymn, and who possesses not so much as a beginning to any critical knowledge? The Canon may direct a clergyman to employ "persons skilled in music." What selection is to be expected then from a man who is wholly ignorant of music? There is no diploma such as protects him when he employs a physician, and although there may still be the risk of certain death in either case, when he employs a person "skilled in music," depending alone on his own estimate to make the choice, he surely is in most lamentable case. But some one objecting that he might counsel with others, the query arises, how then about his leadership and his responsibility? Where are they?

I can not see why there is any material change in affairs since 1859. If the note of alarm was needful then, it is equally so now. If the clergy were incapable of meeting the requirements then, they are equally so now.

Nay, if there has been any change it has been for the worse. Perhaps this may seem strong to some who are familiar with the beautiful services celebrated in metropolitan churches, who quietly note the spread of vested choirs, who watch the service calendars in the papers, and who can see readily enough that the Church worship is beautified by a wealth of music almost unknown to our fathers. But that is no sign of the musical education of those who are the properly appointed guardians of the art as used by the Church. It indicates, if one look below the surface, the broadening sympathies of the clergy. It must, as a matter of course, be accompanied by some elevation in the clerical musical standard; but it witnesses, above all that, to the rise of the guild of organists and choir-masters, to the improvement in the culture of professional musicians,—in a word, it marks the tacit surrender by the clergy of what little authority they may have hitherto exercised; part of that authority having already passed into the hands of the music committee-man who knows nothing

about music, the remainder goes over now to the organist who knows everything. If it be asked why, since this rise in the standard of taste in the musical profession be accompanied by such effects as it has already shown, should there be any concern about the future, it may be said in reply that whilst such surrender violates the Church's law, which is laid on a vital principle, there is a reason seldom, if ever, heard of, which is worthy of careful consideration. That reason is the increasingly secular character of the music of the day. That music is the production of the very musicians whose standard has risen. Watch their reproductions of the great masterpieces of the earlier English school and of the followers of Palestrina, and you will find them mingled with works that breathe the spirit of the sensuous, luxurious world tossing and seething about us. Study their original hymn tunes, and, if you can get far enough from personal "likings" for peculiarly rich chords to see that voluptuousness is not necessarily an element in the Church's style, you will observe that much of that marvelous spirituality that characterises, for example, many of the German Chorales and, indeed, some of the "plain tunes" which our fathers sang, is wholly absent and its place filled, or perhaps I should say taken, by combinations whose greatest merit is that they are "rich," and whose rhythm and *tempo* are more those of a body of supers on the stage than of Christian soldiers.

The standard has indeed risen. The organist of to-day knows more and can do more; is, in a word, scientifically and artistically above his immediate predecessor. But he is not above the influence of his time, which is precisely what the Church expects its clergy to be, if they are in the truest sense leaders. Within the last quarter of a century music has sharply differentiated into sacred and secular. What we know as the best sacred music, is the past. What we know of the best secular music is the present, and the whole world follows it. The sacred music we know as best does not encroach upon the secular, but the secular most surely does upon the sacred. This is only another way, of course, of saying that when a man attempts to-day to write sacred music he gives it, perhaps unconsciously, a secular tinge. The world pays to-day as it has never paid before for its music. Can there be any question as to what supply will follow the demand when

we see clearly what sort of a society there is to make the demand? Does any one really doubt about the luxuriousness of the world to-day? Could such a development of wealth and power as marked the result of our civil war be possible without some loss of the simplicity which was like the iron in the nation's blood? Education is a matter of time, and sufficient time has not yet elapsed since that internecine struggle to correct the vision of many who have been raised to various powers by its consequences. So a worldliness that cares little about expense, that has an ear captivated by graceful melodies and luxurious harmonies, is an ever-present force to-day in unnumbered parishes, that ought to be counteracted by the influence of a properly qualified clergyman. This force encourages the worst elements in the musical profession, the worst element in every individual musician; it makes possible vain organists and vainer quartets, and assures every composer of the certainty of a market for every secular ditty garnished by a sacred name. Hence you see anthems of Tallis, and Croft, and Blow, in parishes of our own Church mingled with the works of modern operatic composers which "smell of the stage," because, indeed, there is a certain and ever influential demand which must be supplied. And there is yet another power apparently seldom reckoned with, and which is, however, of equal importance with or, I might say, a part of the worldliness of the time—Richard Wagner.

It is questionable whether any musician ever wielded the power that resides in this man's works. Some who hate him love to instance the remarkable influence of Mendelssohn, especially in England, during the earlier part of this century. But, then, Mendelssohn's influence was in no small degree that of a lovable character. He has had no such influence upon his art as Richard Wagner's works have already shown. Leaving aside all theories that distinguish the man, it may be said that Wagner's working principle was the calling out to the farthest possible limit of the expressive power of music. This may seem so natural, so entirely what ought to be the rule of a composer's life, that one might question the force of the assertion. But the fact is that Wagner, almost alone among musical writers, made every other consideration subordinate to that. His aim in treating a scene in one of his plays was to surround it with every accessory of stage ma-

chinery, every device of scenery, every effect of color and of motion, and then to express by his music the inmost meaning of every sentence, almost of every word. His remarkable success is known to every student. But what I wish to bring out in his case in order to connect him with the subject in hand is this, that the tendency of such art is necessarily toward an intense individualism, the great point is the revealing of personality, the analysis of thought, the division and subdivision and minute examination and expression of every feeling. Apply such a method to the musical portion of the Church's worship and you ruin it. If there is any one thing above another that distinguishes the Church's services it is their impersonality. They are not cast in such a mold as to express only one emotion or one kind of emotion, neither do they descend to such minute expression that they satisfy only those who think or feel in a certain way.

Their catholicity is based on the repudiation of the very principle for which Wagner and his works stand. Between the Christian in his Church song and Wagner in his opera there is as great and radical a difference as between catholicity and sectarianism. The plain, unvarying melody of the ancient Gregorian is a type of the one, the marvelously expressive harmonies of "*Lohengrin*" show the other. Where would be the devotional character, say of the opening canticle to the Morning Prayer, if we followed Wagner's theory and strove to picture the changing sentiment of every word or phrase?

But this one man's theories dominate the musical world everywhere to-day. Almost every composer has practically given in to him, is following in his train, and constantly extending his influence. Left to its proper field, that influence is undoubtedly highly valuable. Out of its place it is pernicious. It is too much to expect that the entire musical profession, or, indeed, any great part of it, should discriminate in the use of this composer's theory. To many of them it is enough to be sailing with the tide. The point here is not to analyse the motives of the class, but to call attention to the fact that, as a class, they are so largely influenced to-day, both in choice of works and in composition, by a principle wholly alien to the Church's services. This is especially noticeable in England. To any one who has known the English on the Continent, who has seen their students in German conservatories,

and who also bears in mind that in music the English have shown little originality, at least since Purcell, the influence of Wagner to-day in English music is not surprising. The English took in Handal, then Haydn, then Mendelssohn, and to-day they possess Wagner—or Wagner possesses them.

Follow the compositions of leading English Cathedral musicians, and you will remark the influence of the Wagnerian theory, and be surprised at the open and undisguised adoption of Wagner's devices and mannerisms. The music of the established Church is leavened with the most captivating and, at the same time, most thoroughly secular spirit that the world knows. But here comes a thought. This established Church is largely our own recruiting station. There is a steady flow of musicians from England into this country. Nothing is to be understood against their ability or their conscientiousness. But, nevertheless, there can be no doubt whatever that through them, and because of our abiding Anglomania, the most seductive influence of worldly music is helped rather than hindered. And if music is capable of expressing emotion, does it not stand to reason that some sort of care should be shown in its use, that in case of a tendency on the part of its special cultivators toward a style alien to the Church's thought and feeling, a censorship should exist, and that such censorship should be placed where the Church has left it, in the hands of the clergy?

But there we have reached again the same old ground. In various departments of study the Church provides that her clergy be furnished. In such things she expects certain duties and provides him with facilities for doing them.

She then expects, and bodies her expectation in a Canon, that he shall be the judge of the ability of musicians who are to serve in the sanctuary, of the character of "tunes" to be sung, and, moreover, that he shall suppress everything that is "light" and "unseemly";—and then she leaves him without a standard, such as the Romish priest has ready to his hand, without any provision for such a training as shall enable him to decide as to tune or tyro, such as some of our brethren on the other side possess; in a veritable *Via Media* between the committee on the one hand and the choir on the other, knowing often that many things are anything but "decent" or "in order," believing, although he could not just say why, that he

hears much that is more secular than sacred, yet forced to take the position held by so many and well expressed by an old friend of mine, "I never say anything because I do not know what to say."

So the situation is practically this: The Church very properly requires the clergyman to control the musical portion of the service. Such control presupposes knowledge, and such knowledge she leaves him without. These are the facts. Nothing is gained by speculating where the blame is or why the blame is. Enough has been said, it would seem, to show that there is a great and growing need of rectifying the wrong, and of supplying the omission.

If the Church clergyman of the future is to meet the requirements, this must be done. By no means can worldliness be more surely introduced into the Church than by music. By none can the Church be protected against such possibility if not by her clergy. To depend upon the "rising standard" of a purely voluntary profession, no matter how worthy may all its members be, to depend in such a case as this, where sensitive human preferences are concerned, upon anything but the constituted authority, is the utmost folly.

What then ought to be done? The answer is, of course, ready,—make music a part of the curriculum of every divinity school. As yet, as far as I can learn, this has not been done in any school of theology in this Church. Two years since, I made a careful inquiry in every such school in every Diocese in the United States. As a result, I found in the Philadelphia School a slight beginning had been made, so slight, indeed, that Dean Bartlett hardly cared to name it. I had already been told by Dean Hoffman that the General Seminary had received the beginning of an endowment, which, however, yielded then so little as to be no inducement to a capable man. It was a beginning, however. At Berkeley Divinity School I had begun, under Bishop Williams's arrangement, a course of lectures. These were the only evidences of a move. But in the answers I received there was an unanimous approval of the idea, a common recognition of the need of a limited instruction in music for candidates for Holy Orders, and evidently the only thing that bound many hands was the lack of funds. It is true that the Church has her hands full. Under her peculiar circumstances it is not, perhaps, strange that art should

have received tardy attention. But the question is not about the past, but all about the future. Is it always to remain thus? If not, when is the spell to be broken, and some move made to lessen the danger to the Church's services on the one hand, and the parish troubles which are serious enough to be separately treated, on the other, both resulting from the incapacity of the average clergyman? It has been objected, I believe, that the Church should not be expected to teach music. If a man wishes to be a judge of music, that is his matter. The Canon does not look toward musical proficiency. It may be answered that, if the Church requires a man to assume as delicate a duty as that involved in the Canon, she ought to qualify him for it. The duty she here lays upon him often includes more troublesome consequences in a parish than the preaching of wrong doctrine by precept or practice. The very requirements she lays upon him in other things prevent him, in many cases, from himself obtaining any foundation in music. How serious are the perplexities that frequently arise because of "choir troubles" is so familiar as to have become proverbial. The parish priest is a cipher in any such trouble so long as the organist is aware that he knows nothing of the subject. The Church service is continually in danger because of the same ignorance. To obey the Canon is literally impossible. If it be said that the Canon does not look toward musical proficiency, it may be answered that it certainly looks toward a knowledge sufficient to qualify a man to judge, or else, according to the objector's view, it must expect a man to decide without knowing how to decide, an inconsistency we can hardly suppose. Undoubtedly, in the sense of anything like strictly scientific knowledge of music or ability to play an instrument or to sing, it is not to be understood. Neither can we suppose for a moment that its spirit lends any encouragement to the dilettante clergyman who is always striving to "air" his acquaintance with music more for the edification of men than the glory of GOD. It surely looks toward a plain critical ability that enables a man to distinguish between what is good and what is bad, between what is devout and what is not, between what in the Church (no matter what it be elsewhere) is sacred and what is secular.

It ought not to be so very difficult to arouse interest in the subject when we bear in mind the constantly extending use of

music in the Church services. There is a wide-spread agreement in the views advanced in this article, which the writer can attest from personal inquiry and observation. The more elaborate become our services the more needful becomes that restraining power which, in theory, the Church has lodged in the pastor's hands. It is not intended to cast any reflection upon the present leading Church musicians to whom the Church is already greatly indebted, when it is said that there is no small danger of the Church being turned into a concert-hall. Why, with the wide-spread sense of helplessness among the clergy, with the reasonableness of the call for some education in music—why should it be impossible to establish, say, in New York City where the best men might be had, an experimental course in the General Seminary where, without seeking to make professional musicians, the attempt might be made to furnish a clergyman with the ability to judge of the character of musical works, and to teach him somewhat of the responsibilities that are to come upon him in his relations as the general musical director of his parish?

W. C. RICHARDSON.

Moral Unity and Millenniums.

THERE are two conclusions, to be hereafter announced as postulates, which will greatly facilitate the study of historic philosophy; and both find illustrations in our current history. The one is a principle, long sought, or rather long evaded, and but lately acknowledged; the other is a complex fact, with the great resultant fact from the combination of moral forces. Let me present them in order. The first is the moral unity of the human race, tending to equality. The second is found in the vast sketches of historic philosophy, an endless chain of causes and effects, linking the period in which we live with primordial conditions, and connecting our civilisation with the prayer of Noah and the rainbow of promise.

When Theseus wished to deliver his country from the dreaded Minotaur, he received from the loving hand of Ariadne a clue of simple thread, which guided him to his duty, and then made easy his escape from the mazes of the Dædalian labyrinth in Crete.

Now, the great complex historic problem of human progress, which we call civilisation, and some of the scientific elements of the study of which are of very modern discernment, may seem labyrinthine indeed, and needs some further clue to guide our wanderings, and assure our successful emergence. One thread of that clue I find in the moral unity of the race, and the consequent equality of man; politically speaking, it is a democracy, not used in a partisan meaning, or as representing a faction in the state, but according to its original etymology,—the right of all men, of the people, to govern themselves, with the only proviso that they shall not interfere with the rights of others. We speak of liberty, but none is free; all are bound by the cords of duty; we speak of fraternity, but that is a dream of Christian perfection which stretches the bond of consanguinity, but to which we can but distantly approximate; but when we speak of equality we seem to put fourth a tangible claim, dear to every heart, and struggled for in every age of history.

But some are ready to say, that too is a dream of the socialist: men are not equal, and can never be. If I appear to make certain concessions I shall still maintain my position. When I speak of the equality of man I speak of something to hope for, and to attain; I do not imply physical or even mental equality of individuals or races at this time. Thus far in history, by conditions of origin, locality, climate, food, and custom, we find stronger and weaker races: men capable of forming powerful nationalities, and men who for centuries roamed in an incohesive state not much more progressive than the lower animals around them; people formed to receive the blessings of Christian civilisation, and making it the law of national existence, and others who shrink and wither in its noonday gleam, like forest flowers before the sun. And what is the result when such races come in contact with each other? If the stronger be the moving race, and the weaker the stationary, the former sweeps the latter away, or tramples it under foot. If the weaker move against the stronger, it is scattered back, like a wave against a rock in evaporating spray. In such a case it is "the survival of the fittest," that is, the strongest,—and whatever be the moral phase of the contest, there can be no question of the great benefit to the world. I could give many illustrations. See how the Kelts of Britain, who had simply submitted to the Romans, largely dis-

appeared before the Saxons, and yet see how the Saxons held their own against the Normans.

But you will be more interested in an example which is still presented, and strongly presented, in our actual history to-day.

Look at our North American Indians, receding since the discovery of the continent before the advance of the European white man. It seems to matter little what is the instrument or the influence; it may be the brotherly kindness of William Penn, the armies of warlike provinces, the idleness which comes with houses and provision; the rifle of the squatter, or the fire-water of a benevolent Christian commerce: they rage, they pine, they depart, they die.

Slowly but surely, a martyr not only to man's inhumanity to man, but to the great law of history, the Indian moves ever westward, out of the grand valley of the Father of Waters, to the passes of the Rocky Mountains. Like the inscription over the schoolhouse door at Twickenham, there is written upon the banner of advancing American civilisation a lesson which for all its Latin he can too well divine,—*Aut disce, aut discede*, either learn or depart. Sadly he halts to rest, and in his troubled sleep he dreams of beautiful hunting-grounds which the white man's foot shall never pollute, on the shores of the distant ocean, into which the bright waters of the Columbia flow, and where St. Helen lifts her snow-covered head. But as, from some mountain summit of the coast range, he catches a glimpse of the Pacific, his gaze is arrested by the ubiquitous banner of the Conquerer. It has doubled the cape; it has crossed the continent; *Aut disce, aut discede*,—he can not learn, or rather he has not been permitted to learn; whither shall he depart?

It is not strange to my mind that noble natures have always sympathised, and to-day sympathise, with the poor Indian. I am not astonished when I read John Locke's plan of government for the Carolinas, and find his generous thought proposing two orders of nobility, the Landgraves for the English, and the Caciques for the higher class of Indians. He evidently thought that they were to be treated as men and brethren; to have a civil, social, and political status in the new order of civilisation.

I can not read that section of our Constitution which ex-

cludes from representation "Indians not taxed," which rules them out of the enumeration, without sorrow and perplexity. A negro, classed among "all other persons," was three-fourths of a man: an Indian was and is no man at all. I abhor the spirit in which we have dealt with the aborigines, the injuries they have suffered at our hands, the rigor of our treaties, and the worse than Punic faith with which they have been carried out or treacherously repealed.

If a treaty, as the supreme law of the land, may supersede an act of Congress, an act of Congress may supersede a treaty, and so the Indian who has begun his life on a treaty reservation is startled by the words, "You must move on—move on—in a hurry too, your land is wanted." "By act of Congress!" He moves to another spot, and pitches his poor wigwam,—a baffled hunter, and no farmer; but his new encampment is hardly cleared before he hears the ominous old cry, "Move on, New Treaty, we are going to make a new treaty." I do not justify Indian massacres; I pity our brave soldiers; but when I look back for the cause, my condemnation is partial and qualified. And yet whatever hastens the consummation, that consummation is certain, and it is after all a sickly sentimentalism which would deplore the result. It must come, and the end sooner or later will be to the benefit of the civilization of the world.

You will see then that in my scheme of equality I concede that the ethnic question has not thus far in history been much affected by the idea of man's equality. One other apparent concession I am glad to make. I believe in breeding; in the transmission of form, blood, mental and moral qualities. Indeed, no one can doubt the correctness of this theory who will look to the lower forms of animal life, or to the cultivation of flowers. It is true, I believe, of *material* in over-breeding that it tends at length to self-abolition, by lack of numbers, growing constantly less. Of moral heredity this is not true, it goes on to perfection. So education and virtue, gentle manners, great care of the person in all its components, produce a higher type of man. A combination of the best elements produces the most powerful resultant, and one which stands strong in its capacity for propagating itself. So it would appear that the actual inequality is due to the force of

circumstances, with a tendency, in the progress of civilisation, toward an equilibrium.

I have called this an apparent concession. The inequality is one of race, induced by climate, habitat, and habit. Ethnographic studies explain it, and may in the future tend to remove it. The sun of the tropics burns, and in the process torpifies the human animal; so too, as frozen carbonic acid burns the flesh, we find an analogous process in Arctic regions, the intense cold burning and bronzing the Esquimaux. Temper both the heat and the cold, and the result, however long in coming, we may certainly expect at last: in the words of Emerson, as "the skull of the English race is changing from its Saxon type under the exigencies of American life," so civilisation may find (in moral vision at least) "a rose-water that will wash the negro white." Wise international laws will do much also to remove such inequality. The dragon slain by Beowulf may have been a malarious fen land, drained and subsoiled by a practical scientist, who was a matchless hero to his times, and a thousand years in advance of his fellows. "Landscape," says Ruskin, "can be greatly enjoyed only by cultivated persons, and it is by music, literature, and painting that cultivation can be given. And the faculties which are thus received are hereditary, so that the child of an educated race has an innate instinct for beauty, derived from arts practiced hundreds of years before his birth. It has hence been truthfully said in answer to the question, "how early a child's education should be begun,"—"a hundred years before he was born." Nature seeks normal condition, and thus in a democratic republic the moral equality to which I refer is that of right to the best; let there be a common ground, upon which every child shall be flung at his birth, with an equal right to become what he can, to aspire to the highest station, intellectual, social, political. It is the equality of real merit, the very essence of enlightened democracy; and in these days of extended education, the race for pre-eminence is more easily run than ever before.

The arguments for this equality seem to me so simple and clear, that the old-world fancies of blue-blood and sixteen quarterings appear puerile in the extreme. In the first place, it is founded upon the principle heretofore greatly disregarded even if acknowledged,—the moral unity of the human race.

GOD made man in his own image,—man, every man, not kings and nobles only, as the maintainers of Divine right have until our day so persistently taught. And the atonement of CHRIST, dimly foreshadowed in the typical sacrifices of the Jewish Church, was like them for whom? not priests and Levites alone, not kings and tetrarchs. They rejected it in part at least, because it was for the sins of the whole people; it was proclaimed by one crucified as a malefactor, and promulgated by twelve rude fishermen of Galilee. He made of one blood all nations; in Him was neither rich nor poor, bond nor free, but absolute moral equality.

"Of a truth," said S. Peter, as if something new had struck him, as if he was giving up an old belief,—*"Of a truth I perceive that GOD is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth GOD and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him."*

And this moral equality of man, history shows us, is continually asserting itself under difficulties. Almost all the great discoveries and inventions, almost all the grand works of art and literature, are due, not to the soft raiment, the gorgeous apparel, the delicate living of king's courts, but to those like the Baptist, clothed in camel's skins, whose mighty voice the world rushed forth even into the wilderness to hear.

Whence came the finding of a new world,—the heliocentric system, the laws of planetary orbits; the wonders of the new philosophy,—the paper made from linen rags, the printing press? They came from the people. Run down the current of English literary history, and note how few titled names appear except in dedications. Who is greater than any king in the long line of English monarchs? The yeoman Shakespeare. Science has been fostered among the rude outposts of civilisation, exposed to elemental war, from which the high-born and tenderly nurtured shrinks. The imagination of authors has soared from unfurnished garrets. Art has sprung spontaneously in the abodes of shivering poverty.

But this is no vision of the socialist. Equality is as yet in the best conditions of society an ultimate capability, to be always striven for, and a certain hope, rather than practically existing in our present imperfect condition; it can only mean now the right conceded in every man to find his own level. Properly protected by law, virtue will dwell apart from vice,

while it seeks to correct and reform vice. Elegant culture will shrink from ignorance and vulgarity; good manners and pure morals will create ranks of Nature's noblemen, far worthier the name than those whose heraldic honors bear the seal of an emperor. In this system there will be, called by whatever name, masters and servants, men of wealth and beggars, high and low.

If I seem to dwell upon what is so simple, it is for two reasons: 1. That history, up to the nineteenth century, has found the principle of oligarchy and the practice of caste, in full force, and has catered to them; and 2. That there are very many Americans, who, dazzled by the European system of rank and station, lean toward such a system at home. It is for that that many foolish American girls marry foreign counts who prove to be not very excellent barbers.

The Constitution of the United States is still in some quarters called "the American experiment," and whenever it receives a rude shock from "sedition, privy conspiracy, or rebellion," eager gloating eyes across the Atlantic expect and desire that the experiment shall fail. But it can not fail; it has compassed the world with benefactions, and not the least among them is the inauguration of a new era, and a new school of history, based upon the moral unity of the human race.

Maurice justly classifies the compendiums of history into three: "Royal History," "Constitutional History," and "People's History." The first tells you the history of kings and their instruments, and the inference is that the nation was made for the monarch, and that he graciously apportioned it to the nobles. This is particularly true of the chronicles—run your eye over the table of contents of Monstrelet and of Froissart, and you find: "The king did that," "The Duke of Orleans went thither," "How two nobles fought a duel," etc, or of court intrigues, etc.

Every school-girl will give without hesitation the list of English and French sovereigns, with anecdotes of each, the names of their queens and the fashion of their courts, the beauty and misfortunes of Mary Stuart, the vanity of Elizabeth, the gallantry of Raleigh and Essex; but can she tell you who the people were, how they dressed and fared, or went naked and starving, how they suffered and endured and died?

Constitutional History indeed records the principles and the actions of government, and the struggle of man against his master; it is dry reading at best, and deals in compromises between power and right, with a constant leaning to the side of power. What we want is the absorption of these two classes into "People's history,"—displaying the influence of man on man, the progress of the masses. In this class, the chief concern of the historian is government as it affects the governed; the governor is an accident, he changes with a breath; the governed, the people, are the very essence of history.

Run over the pages of Hume and Gibbon, and what do you find? A few prominent characters appear, like puppets moved by some hidden machinery; we know them as to form and presence, the cut of their beards, the glance of their eyes, the length of their legs, the slashes of their doublets, the glancing lights on their Milan armor; but that wave-like ebb and flow of the mighty masses, which indicates a latent power below the surface, attracts no notice, until suddenly an earthquake shakes the nations, the kingly image is hurled from the throne: the lordly sycophants sink into the chasm, and the shapeless ruin demonstrates the power of the downtrodden people. And then—although, had the historian been true to history, he would have seen that the seeds of revolution had long been planted, and silently watered with blood; or to change the figure, although the mutterings long heard had been ignored or neglected, the world affects to be, and indeed is, very much amazed, and the event is recorded as at once unexpected and unaccountable, only—the vile insurgents must be crushed!

We can find no better illustration than that presented by English history. Take that struggle which has been called—and we shall not quarrel about the name—the Great Rebellion. What was it but the final and successful outburst of that spirit of liberty, springing from the doctrine of equality, which had prompted and aided the barons to extort from King John the great Charter; which under Wat Tyler, Jack Straw and Hob Carter, pseudonyms of the people, had resisted the "three groat tax" of Richard II; which had joined Henry VII in depressing the aristocracy; which had risen against the union of Mary and the bigot of Spain; which, receiving with gratitude the enactment of the poor laws of Elizabeth, attacked her monopolies with such decision as to make her recede from them;

which assailed the Star Chamber, at the risk of feeling its tortures; refused ship-money when perverted to illegal uses, and which, finally aggregating the grievances of many centuries into one crushing avalanche, precipitated it upon the head of Charles I, the best and noblest of the House of Stuart.

Such were the antecedents of the Great Rebellion; but the genius of English liberty did not stop there. It pursued the foolish and false-hearted James II from his throne in the revolution of 1688;—not now, observe, a rebellion, but a great and glorious revolution. It assured the Protestant succession in the Teutonic line; it planted Saxon freedom on these shores, where before were heard only the war-whoop of the Indian and the roar of the wild beast; it established a great nation in this forest land, it purged the land from slavery, and it points to-day with pride to the great experiment of Liberty and Equality as *Temporis partus maximus*—Time's noblest offspring.

England is classed in history as a monarchy. Victor Hugo repudiates this title and calls it an aristocracy. The truth is it is a Parliament; a Parliament means the House of Commons, and with the ever-growing franchise in England, the House of Commons is the English people—for good or for evil. Sixty years since it was said that one-half of the members of the House of Commons was elected by show of hands, by less than 7,000 voters; the franchise has been greatly extended since. However Mr. Gladstone's career may be considered by friends or enemies, his greatest claim to a high place in history is found in the bill which, three years ago added between three and four millions to the number of English voters; the opening of elections to ballot adds to their integrity, and thus Parliament represents more and more the real and conscientious convictions of the English people. If it be said that the Crown has an absolute veto upon every bill passed by Parliament, it must at once be added that no monarch since William III has dared to use it. The Queen's veto is a thing of the past, never to be revived.

People's history is being written now with more or less success. Green has done it in his history of the English People, which is perhaps a little too radical, but the movement is in the right direction.

I now present my second postulate,—a thought which may

throw some light upon the scope of historic philosophy; it calls us to observe its vast stretches, its magnificent distances. I place this thought just here as a caution and aid in our attempts at philosophising upon the facts of history. The impatient and enthusiastic student seeks at once as he reads for effects to follow causes; or, seeing everywhere about him great events and circumstances, he looks to find their causes not far off. If within his short range of vision, clear to his limited logic, cause and effect are not duly linked together, he is dissatisfied: he denies that there is any philosophy, he discards the statistics as sporadic and valueless. Then there are complications. "One set of causes is often counter-worked by another set." But if the student persevere in his study and enlarge his scope, his eye will be purged from film, and his new conquests will give him hope of something greater and more satisfactory still. And with the hope will come a reverential acknowledgment of Him who holds the nations in the hollow of His hand; with whom "one day is as a thousand years and a thousand years as one day."

This passage from the Bible is usually understood, and correctly so, to express the infinite unchangeableness of the DEITY in "the everlasting now," which is the ever-present Time of Eternity.

It is, however, extremely curious and interesting to observe the almost literal application of this millennial division in the great days of modern history. The world in history seems to have always had its metric system on the decimal plan. We pass from decades to centuries and from centuries to millenniums. This is the numerical basis of our calendar. In its present use I am not indulging in the Rabbinical fancy, originating in the mystic seven, that the days of Creation mentioned in Genesis were typical of the life of the Earth; that we now live in the great sixth day of its age, and are approaching the millennial Sabbath of rest and of end. You may remember too the conceit of Plato, more a fancy than a dogma: that when ten thousand years should pass (the perfect number) there would be a complete revolution in the moral and cosmical orbit, and all things come back to the original state. The planets would return to their first position with reference to the circle of the fixed stars,—having passed through cosmic changes. The moral fact corresponded: the soul having

fallen from its high estate among the *δαίμονες* could only come back to it after ten thousand years, when a sublimated Plato would again teach in the Academy perfect doctrines to renovated pupils of the former epoch. Such is the nearest approach we can make to Plato's fancies.

It is nothing like these, however, to which I refer; I speak of facts and not of fancies. We may arrange these millenniums in sacred history with singular adaptation. Scripture is full of them, sometimes in mystic meaning, sometimes with more exact intention. In the Revelation of S. John, the angel having the key of the bottomless pit bound Satan a thousand years, while the greatest of the saints and martyrs lived and reigned with CHRIST a thousand years. A most curious illustration of this millennial influence is found in the history of France. By false interpretation of the 20th chapter of the Revelation, when the year 1000 A.D. was approaching, the whole nation expected the destruction of the world and the day of judgment. Provision for the future was given up; legal documents contained provisos, based upon the end of all things; as the very time came, incident to want of thrift and provision, corpses filled the streets, wolves came down from the mountains, desolation reigned, until the epoch had gone by, and men looking upward could take a long breath of gladness for deliverance.

But see how curiously this millennial idea may be applied to that historic period of a thousand years which began with the fall of the Western Empire of Rome, in the fifth century, and ended with the capture of Constantinople and the subversion of the Eastern Empire in the fifteenth. Here we have almost literally a thousand years, and what is the philosophy to be found in the great day of the LORD in History? In preparation for its coming Constantine had been converted to the Christian faith, and had been inspired, while Rome was still the seat of Empire, to build a new capital on the site of Byzantium which he called New Rome, but which in his honor was named Constantinople. Soon came the first great providence.

When the Barbarians began vigorously to assail the gates of the Eternal City, during the fourth and fifth centuries and all the civilisation of Rome was imperilled, it will appear that the art, the learning, the jurisprudence, social and domestic

customs, a civilisation embodying all that had been known since Adam, which had been so successfully cultivated in Rome, all these had been gradually and silently migrating to Constantinople as a city of refuge and when at last the shock did come,—when suddenly with the irruption of the northern barbarians chaos had come again in the whole Western Empire, when the most valued monuments of Rome's greatness seemed submerged forever under the sweeping flood,—then the mystery of Providence became manifest : then it became apparent that Constantinople, which had thus been receiving the civilisation of Rome, would foster it for the world, in spite of the subversion of the West. Gibbon tells us: "It may be affirmed that more books and more knowledge were included within the walls of Constantinople than could be dispersed over the extensive countries of the West."

But what remains is still more astonishing. In process of time, out of the chaos produced by this German invasion of Italy and the West, there began to spring a new and better order, the result of many experimental and provisional systems ; such as feudalism, new monarchy, the enfranchisement of the communes, the power of the papacy, the claims of democracy. At times in conflict, then curiously commingled, these and other elements worked out a new system of progress in the West, more healthful and potential than even that of Rome ; system upon which are based the political divisions and interests of Europe as we see them to-day, an asylum which promised a prominent abode for art and letters.

And when this stage had been reached, the Byzantine Empire in the East had already begun to decline in its turn ; it lost one after another its possessions in Asia and Africa, its European frontiers became more and more contracted ; attacked in one direction by Goths in their westward march, invaded in another by Lombards moving to the conquest of Italy ; assailed by the rude incursions of Moguls and Tartars, it drew in its outposts until in reality it had no power beyond the walls of Constantinople ; and at last, in the year 1453, it succumbed to the Turks, who under Mohammed II unfurled the crescent over the Golden Horn, which has ever since reflected its baleful light.

And thus we reach the second great providence in this eventful day of GOD. What was to become of the great trust

which a thousand years before had been confided by Rome to Constantinople? What of the learning, the art, the poetry, in a word the civilisation, which had found there a refuge in the day of adversity? Were they to fall with Constantine, Paleologus, and be buried forever? By no means! "The journeys of the three Emperors" says Gibbon, "were productive of a beautiful consequence, the revival of the Greek language in Italy, from whence it was propagated to the extreme nations of the North and West."

The new civilisation of the West to which I have just referred had long been ready to take back the precious deposit. Slowly and silently, year by year, as they had gone to Constantinople, they returned with usury. Men of letters had been coming, new wise men from the East. The Greek language, long unknown to Western Europe, knocked at the doors of universities in Italy, France, and England, and with it the wonders of Greek literature. Petrarch and Boccaccio, chiefly known as poet and storyteller, should be better known as the patrons and masters of Greek literature. In a word, what Constantinople had been to Rome in the fifth century, Rome and Florence and Venice, Paris and London and Oxford were to Constantinople in the fifteenth. Let it be remembered, also, that as an usher of this great millennium, it was little more than a thousand years from the founding of Rome to the decline of the Western Empire.

And as a parallel and sequence it was about a thousand years from the fall of Western Rome to the discovery of America.

I can not too distinctly repeat that I am not a believer in the interpretation of exact numerals in Scripture or profane history. I find in them little *raison d'être*. Their fanatical study has led to great and absurd errors, and the credulity of vast numbers has been played upon by fraudulent and designing men; but I also repeat my sincere belief that much of the doubt and skepticism of every age is due to the opposite error of blindness to these vast stretches of historic philosophy; that impatience for results which leads to an abandonment first of works for GOD and man, then of the doctrine of causality, and eventually of a First Great Cause.

Let the student of to-day apply the lesson thus taught, to the studies of other portions of history. GOD'S days are not

our days ; they are great periods, and the philosophy of the morning is often to be sought not in the noontide, nor in the evening, but after a night of watching, in the new dawn, it may be at the very crowing of the cock.

Meanwhile let us rest content that duty done for GOD and man will be like the seed sown everywhere, like bread cast upon the waters ; in morals as in nature there will be a full harvest ; even if the return does not appear until after many days.

HENRY COPPÉE.

The Voice of the Church of England on Episcopal Ordination.

CHAPTER III.

§ IX. *Subscription to the XXXIX Articles enforced by Parliament, 1571.*

By the *Act 13 Elizabeth, c. 12*, subscription to the XXXIX Articles as passed by Convocation in 1562 was, as we have just seen, made by Parliament compulsory on all the clergy.

There is little need to say much here concerning these Articles. Convocation in 1553 had passed XLII Articles as we have seen, which were reduced to XXXIX by the Convocation of 1562, and now in 1571 Parliament enforces subscription to them. The XXXIX Articles are thus made not only the Law of the Church, but the Law of the Realm. They are not a creed, but partake more of the nature of a declaration of principles affecting the chief matters of controversy then existing. The popular conception of them is certainly very curious. They have been called by some outside of the Church, the creed of the Church; whereas, of course, the Church of England recognises but the Three Creeds.*

Protestants of all stripes have in latter times spoken of the XXXIX Articles as if they were so many mysterious charms by which the "Protestant Religion" could alone be saved.

They seem to have derived as much comfort from the XXXIX

* The following paragraphs, from a Presbyterian organ, will be found instructive. They are a curious commentary on the above.

After charging the Formularies of the American Church with "hyper-Calvinism," the writer proceeds: "Now we innocently supposed that the Thirty-nine Articles as they appear in the authorised Episcopal publications were the Creed (*sic*) of the Church, and really we did not know what to make of it when we saw the doctrines of that creed contemptuously ridiculed by leading Episcopal journals." "If the Episcopal Church has any creed beyond reading prayers, and church millinery, and apostolic succession, we will be obliged to any one who will show us what it is" [quoted by the *New York Churchman*, July 30, 1887, p. 114].

Verily, the Innocents Abroad are not dead yet!

Articles as the old woman did from the repetition of "that there soothing word Mesopotamia" in her parson's sermons. They appear to have looked upon them as the only comforting words between the covers of the Prayer Book. Their ancestors knew better. For the Low Church party in the Church of England is *the only party which has ever endeavored to get rid of the XXXIX Articles!* Not once, but repeatedly.

Another misconception is that the Articles contain the highest form of Calvinism, whereas the truth is that the Articles which did contain Calvinistic doctrine were what are called "the Lambeth Articles," and that notwithstanding the repeated attempts, especially the two determined ones of 1595 and 1603, to foist them on the Church, the Church utterly repudiated them.

The clause in Article XX, "The Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and authority in controversies of Faith," which the Puritans, Presbyterians, etc., so strongly objected to, does not appear in some of the copies of the Articles issued between 1563 and 1571. This was one of those Articles which they endeavored to shirk, on the quibble already noticed, that it "only concerned the confession of the true Christian Faith and the Doctrine of the Sacraments."

To us there seems very little doubt that the Puritans resorted to one of their favorite weapons — falsification, and that it was they who caused copies of the Articles to be printed with the omission of the Article they detested.

Archbishop Laud did not scruple, when absurdly accused of having added the clause, to retort the charge of falsification on the Puritan party.

"I do openly here in the Star Chamber, charge upon that pure Sect, this foul corruption of falsifying the Articles of the Church of England. Let them take it off as they can" [as quoted by Collier, vol. ii, p. 487].

Heylin, in *History of Presbyterianism* [p. 283], gives another instance of falsification which occurred about the same date. Since editions of the Prayer Book were issued in which two services opposed by the Puritans, the order for private baptism and confirmation of children,

was quite omitted, which grand omissions were designed to no other purpose, but by degrees to bring the Church of England into some conformity to the desired orders of Geneva.

The opinion of the patient and erudite Strype is also against the Puritans in the matter of the omitted clause.

So that at length an edition that appeared abroad in the same year, printed by John Day, wanting the clause hath been judged, and that upon good grounds, to be spurious; and the rasure of the Church's power and authority, to be owing to the interest and cunning of a faction that then prevailed much, and had not a few favourers at court, which indeed we see abundantly in this present history, and by the labours and troubles our Archbishop* continually underwent on that account. [Strype's *Life of Parker*, vol. ii. p. 56. Oxford, 1821.]

Parallel with this is the constant endeavor, past and present, to prove the seven letters of S. Ignatius and the Epistles to Saints Timothy and Titus forgeries, on account of their uncomfortable teaching on Apostolical succession.

Before leaving these XXXIX Articles a word must be said why the Church authorities have so unanimously passed over the Parliamentary Statute of 1571, which is always cited as having given legality to the enforcement of subscription to those Articles. This silence on the part of Church authorities appears so strange to many writers that all kinds of explanations for it have been given, some of them very far fetched. To discuss the whole matter fully would require a whole article in the *Church Review*, nor would it be an unprofitable task, as there seems to be so much misconception on the point. Briefly, however, the reason seems to be that the Church authorities considered the *Act 13 Eliz. c. 12* superfluous, so far as it gave legality to subscription to the Articles. They considered that they had legal power inherent in themselves to enjoin and enforce subscription to whatever Articles they chose to put forward, without asking "by your leave" of the Parliament. This appears to the writer the simple reason, and the true one.

Accordingly, when the Convocation of 1571 met, although the Parliamentary Statute was not then passed, the Primate ordered every member of Convocation, on penalty of exclusion, there and then to sign the Articles of 1562. The Articles were thereupon read out aloud, and every member of both houses subscribed to them.

The Canons of 1571, enjoining subscription to the Book of Articles of 1562, as we have seen, contain no allusion to the statute then being passed through Parliament.

* That is, Archbishop Parker.

Parker's Three Articles of June, 1571, enjoined subscription to the Book of Articles of 1562. No reference again to the statute just passed, and assented to by the Queen. The XV Articles passed by Convocation in 1576 likewise enjoin subscription to the Articles of 1562, with no reference to the statute; and so Whitgift's Three Articles, the XXIV Articles of 1584, and Canon 36 of the Canons of 1604, in force till 1865, all require subscription to the Articles of the Convocation of 1562, and never allude to the Statute of 1571.

The same reason actuated the Queen in refusing her formal sanction to the Advertisements of 1564 to the Canons of 1571, and to the successive steps which the Bishops or Ecclesiastical Commissioners took for the enforcement of conformity to the Prayer Book or Ordinal. However keen the Queen might be after money, and however scandalously she may have acted in appropriating Church revenues, she was not so Erastian as even some of the Bishops. The title "Head of the Church" was distasteful to her, as arrogating an honor due to CHRIST alone. She considered that whatever Convocation did touching doctrine, or the discipline of the clergy, Parliament had no inherent right to meddle with either by sanctioning by a special act, or by disannulling. She even went further, and considered that each successive step which the bishops might consider necessary to take to enforce conformity did not require direct and fresh sanction at her hands; *that they had the authority inherent in their office.*

It is perfectly true that some of the bishops, and even Parker, were anxious to obtain the Queen's formal sanction or the authority of Parliament for what they did, but the reason for this was probably on Parker's side, that he might "level up" the Puritan bishops and give them no excuse to avoid enforcing conformity, and on the part of the bishops generally that they might overawe the boldness of the Puritan leaders by representing them as disloyal subjects to the State, as well as to the Church.

If this view of Elizabeth's conduct be the correct one, as we submit it is, then we have the key to what seems so unnecessarily puzzling to many writers in the fact that Church documents were issued, and their provisions acted upon and enforced, although, as they complain, without Royal authority; and the silence of these or similar documents on the Statute of 1571 is likewise accounted for.

The same general principle governs the whole :—

The inherent right of the Church to rule herself, either by her voice expressed in Convocation, or by the Bishops speaking on behalf of Convocation.

§ X. *Order of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, June 7, 1571.*

The Parliament which had met on April 2 was prorogued on May 29, and Convocation, which had assembled on April 3, broke up on May 30.

As a result of the Canons passed by Convocation, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners lost no time in issuing an order headed : "The Commissioners Ecclesiastical to all Church wardens concerning the Puritan Ministers," and, omitting the preamble, the charge is as follows :—

We wil and require you, and in the Queen's Majesties name straitly charge and command you, and every of you, that in no wise ye suffer any person or minister to minister any sacrament, or say any publick prayers, in any your churches, chappels, or other places appointed for common prayers, in any other order, maner, or sort, than only according to the prescription in the Book of Common Prayer, and the Queen's Majesties law published in that behalf.

And that in no wise you suffer any person publicly or privately to teach, read, or preach, in any the said churches, parishes, chappels, private houses, or other places, unles such be licenced to preach, read, or teach, by the Queen's Highnes authority, the Archbishop of Canterbury his licence, or by the licence of the Bishop of the dioces : and that he be such a minister as is licensed to preach after the first of May last, and not removed from the ministry by us, or any other lawful authority. [Strype's *Parker*, Appendix, Number LXII. vol. iii. p. 183.]

§ XI. *Parker's Three Articles, passed in June, 1571.*

In the history of the conflict of the Church with the Puritans, Precisians, and Parity-men, *et hoc genus omne*, there are no more important Articles than the Three Articles which Parker insisted on the clergy subscribing, and which we have named Parker's *Three Articles*.

We know of no writer that has given them that prominence they deserve. A few have an incidental notice of them, or relegate an obscure allusion to them in a foot-note. Many seem to have confounded them with Whitgift's Three Articles.

They seem to have escaped the notice of even the painstaking Hardwick, for there is not a stray allusion to them in his book on the Articles.

The references by Whitgift, in his *Defence of the Answer to the Admonition*, to Three Articles to which Cartwright and his compeers strongly objected, make it evident that there must have been in force before the publication of the *Admonition* in 1571, Three Articles directed against the Puritans. The remarks, therefore, that follow on these "Three Articles," do not profess in any way to be a summary of what has already been said by others on the subject, but are the result of such researches as can at best be but very limited on this continent. Enough, however, will, it is hoped, be said to show the extreme importance of these Articles, while, at the same time, it must be borne in mind that much more might be said on further research.

The Convocation, as we have seen, passed canons regulating the action of bishops and preachers so as to prevent the intrusion of unworthy, unlearned, or unauthorised ministers. One of the means of effecting this was the plan of recalling all licenses, and enjoining that the applicants should subscribe to the XXXIX Articles as approved by the Synod in 1562, and that they would defend the doctrine therein contained. We saw what injunctions the Ecclesiastical Commissioners issued in the Advertisements of 1564, and also the order they issued, after the passage of these Canons, on June 7, 1571, to the church wardens; incidentally we have also noticed the instructions given by the Bishop of Ely to his Chancellor, on August 28.

How to carry out effectually the wishes of Convocation, as expressed in the Canons referred to under Section VII, was the task the Archbishop now set before himself. Grindal, Archbishop of York, was lukewarm, and so was Parkhurst of Norwich, and Sandys of London. On the other hand, Jewel of Sarum promised to stand by the Archbishop, and so did Horne of Winchester, Cox of Ely, Ballingham of Worcester, and Curteis of Chichester.

Parker determined to strike an effectual blow at the Puritans, by dealing with their principal leaders. These were, accordingly, cited to appear at Lambeth, to answer for their erroneous doctrine and for their nonconformity to the Prayer Book. Some were merely admonished, others had to resign their benefices.

This occurred on June 6, as appears from a document signed by Deringe, one of the leading Puritans. On the very next day, June 7, the order to the church wardens was issued; this dealt with the Puritans in the country as well as in London.

Whether Archbishop Parker had already, prior to June 6, framed the "Three Articles" or not, the writer is unable to ascertain; the probabilities are that they were not, but that, finding the Puritans evaded the injunctions of the Commissioners, or possibly did not appear when cited, the Archbishop determined to devise more effectual means to obtain conformity. If the "Three Articles" had been framed prior to the issue of the order to the church wardens, they would most likely have been mentioned. Be that as it may, they certainly were not only framed, but actually tendered for subscription before July 4. For we read in a petition of Robert Johnson, domestic chaplain to Lord Bacon, to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, dated August 14, 1571:—

That whereas the 4th of July last, being before their Lordships to answer to their three articles, he did forbear to subscribe to the first of them, etc. [See Strype's *Parker*, vol. ii. p. 70.]

Historically speaking, then, the Canons of 1571 were the origin of "Parker's Three Articles," although they derived their legal authority from being issued by Parker, as head of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners appointed by the Queen.

The strong authority claimed by the commissioners comes out very forcibly in the letter of remonstrance which the Commissioners addressed to the Duke of Norfolk, who had endeavored to shield the notorious Robert Brown* from the reach of the commissioners by claiming that, as his domestic chaplain, Brown was in a place of privilege.

Our Commission (so reply the Commissioners) extendeth to all places as well exempt, as not exempt, within Her Majesty's dominions, and before this time never by any called into question. . . . We would be loath to use other means to bring him (*i. e.* Brown) to his answer, as we must be forced to do if your grace will not like hereof. [Quoted by Strype's *Parker*, vol. ii. p. 68.]

When the Commissioners addressed a personage of the standing of the Duke of Norfolk thus, and, as we shall see, attacked

* Brown became the founder of the "Brownists," the ancestors of the Independents and Congregationalists. After eighteen years' schismatical preaching Brown conformed; but, as Strype says, "he still continued very freakish."

the chaplain of the Lord Keeper Bacon, they could not have had much doubt of their legal authority, although, as will be noticed, they studiously ignore the Parliamentary Statute, *13 Elis. c. 12*, just passed.

Having therefore shown the approximate date of the issue of these Articles, the second week in June, 1571, and their historical origin, the Canons of 1571, and their legal authority, the Queen's Ecclesiastical Commissioners, there remains but to give the wording of the Articles.

By the help of Whitgift's *Defence of the Answer to the Admonition*, and the letter of complaint of the Puritan Johnson, we are able to give their very terms.

PARKER'S THREE ARTICLES.

I. That the book, commonly called the Book of Common Prayer for the Church of England, authorised by Parliament, and all and every contents therein be such as are not repugnant to the word of GOD. [Whitgift's *Works*, vol. iii. p. 326.]

II. That the manner and order appointed by Public Authority about the Administration of the Sacraments, and Common Prayers, and that the apparel by sufficient authority appointed for the ministers within the Church of England, be not wicked, nor against the Word of GOD, but tolerable, and being commanded for order and obedience' sake are to be used. [*Ibid.* p. 458.]

III. That the Articles of Religion which only concern the true Christian Faith and the Doctrine of the Sacraments comprised in a book imprinted: *Articles whereupon it was agreed by both Archbishops, and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole clergy in the Convocation holden at London, in the year of our Lord 1562, according to the computation of the Church of England*, and every of them contained true and godly Christian doctrine.

Articles I and II speak for themselves. The words "repugnant to the Word of GOD" were brought in because that was the pet Puritan phrase against the Prayer-Book, just as "wicked and anti-Christian" was brought in in the Canons of 1604 because that was the stock phrase of the Presbyterians against the doctrine and government of the Church.

Article III enjoins subscription to the XXXIX Articles of 1562. There is a material point to be noticed bearing on the

quibble raised afterwards by the Puritans on the word "*only*," as referred to already under Section VIII. The very preamble of the *Act 13 Eliz. c. 12* is used "which only concern the true Christian faith," etc., but there is added at the end of the title the words "*and every of them*." The addition of these four words, added as they are in an unstudied manner, and *before the quibble* was raised, show quite clearly what was meant by the Act, within a month of its being passed, and by the persons whom it intimately concerned.

When Robert Johnson wrote to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners on August 14 on the subject of these Three Articles he says that as to Article I he would put up with the Prayer Book, and was ready to declare the contents

were not defective, nor expressly contrary or against the Word of God, and that the imperfections thereof might for unity and charity sake be suffered till God grant a time of perfect reformation.

To the Second he submits in the following terms:—

To the Second, That the minister's apparel as it was not wicked, and directly against the Word of God, being by the Prince appointed only for policy, obedience, and order sake, might be used; yet not generally expedient nor edifying.

He thus submits, ungraciously and grudgingly, perhaps, still he submits to the first two Articles. To the Third, which he repeats *in extenso*, and has thus preserved for us, he submits without a murmur he does not raise a single objection.

Let it be noted that Robert Johnson* was a leading man, that he was chaplain to Lord Bacon, that he dates his letter from Bacon's house at Gorhambury, beside S. Albans, and sends it in all human probability after having submitted it to the keen and almost unrivalled intellect of his patron. What becomes, then

* This Robert Johnson, like Brown, afterwards conformed. Johnson appears, however, to have conformed with more heart than Brown, for Strype mentions a sermon of his on September 3, 1609, where he blamed the laity "for refusing their own parish churches, and to hear their own pastors were they never so well learned or well habited in speech because they wore a surplice, or made a cross upon a child, and would run after and get them a heap of teachers, that spake evil of them that were in authority—that would rail against Bishops," etc., and in another sermon he spoke of "schismatical spirits who, under color of zeal, etc., would, if they could, banish those Bishops which CHRIST and his apostles appointed, and would turn all discipline and government upside down, churches into chambers, Bishops into Synods," etc.

All very good, and true, but the pity is that he had not followed his own advice years before.

of the quibble on the word "only"? If Parliament had intended to limit the subscription to some of the Articles, clumsily and ungrammatically as they would have expressed such an intention in the wording of the Act, yet Bacon would have known of that intention, and have quickly pointed out to his *protégé* a legal, and therefore effective, means of defying the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

These articles are important as adding another convincing proof, if one were needed, that Chief Justice Coke's ruling was the right one. They are, however, still more important as having been the immediate cause of the publication of the celebrated *Admonition* to Parliament by the Puritans before May, 1572, which led to Whitgift's *Answer to the Admonition* which in turn brought out Cartwright's *Reply to the Answer*, to which succeeded Whitgift's *Defence of the Answer to the Admonition*, followed by Cartwright's *Second Reply*.

The importance of "Parker's Three Articles" are historically, therefore, very great. When dealing with the "Admonition" controversy later on we shall refer to them again; for the present we pass on to the next section.

§ XII. *The Queen's Proclamation of October 20, 1573.*

The heading of this proclamation is: "A proclamation against the despisers or breakers of the Orders prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer."

This proclamation was one of the results of the *Admonition* controversy alluded to in the last section. The following clause instructing magistrates and others is all that we need give:

If any person shall by public preaching, writing, or printing contemn, despise, or dispraise the orders contained in the said book (*i. e.* Book of Common Prayer), they shall immediately apprehend him, and cause him to be imprisoned until he have answered to the law, &c. [Strype's *Documentary Annals*, vol. vi. p. 385.]

Comment is unnecessary.

§ XIII. *The XV Articles passed by Convocation in March, 1576.*

Parker died May 17, 1575, and Grindal was not appointed Archbishop till February 15, 1576.

Of these Articles only the substance of those which concern our inquiry need be given.

I. Subscription to the XXXIX Articles of 1562 enjoined on all candidates for ordination, who were to be ordained only on Sundays or Holy days and according to the form prescribed in the Ordinal.

III. Unlearned ministers formerly ordained not to be admitted to any cure or function.

IV and V enjoin diligent inquiry in each Diocese for the discovery of such as have counterfeited letters of Orders.

IX. None under a deacon to be allowed to preach.

These Articles * again afford no loophole for any one to enter the ministry except according to the form of Episcopal Ordination provided in the Ordinal. They also go further. They show a strong desire on the part of Convocation to weed out the unlearned men who at all times smuggle themselves in, despite all regulations, and what is still more remarkable the provisions of the IV and V Articles point to a scandal, which must have been caused by the Puritans only because the Papist had no need to forge letters of Orders, since his own orders were never called into question.

The IX was a blow struck at the gospellers, or readers. If a layman could not preach, *a fortiori*, a layman could not administer the Sacrament.

So far, then, as the year 1576 there are no signs discoverable on the part of Convocation to admit anything but the exclusive validity of Episcopal Ordination.

It must also be borne in mind that the Puritans had not been without influence in this very Convocation, for it was through them that the last four were passed. The XII, which allowed none but "a lawful Minister or Deacon" to baptise privately, was a concession on lay baptism against which the Puritans were always reviling. The XIII and XIV related to commutations of penance and matters of discipline. The XV provided for the solemnisation of matrimony at *all* times of the year, — in other words, allowing marriages in Lent.

The Queen refused to sanction the twelfth and fifteenth, hence these Articles are sometimes known as the XIII Articles of 1576. But Convocation passed the whole fifteen, although when the Articles were printed only thirteen were given.

* The XI does not concern our inquiry, but it is instructive to note that all incumbents and curates were to provide themselves the New Testament in Latin and English, *or Welsh*, and read a chapter every day and compare the translations together.

Strong, therefore, as Puritan influence was in the Convocation of 1576, there was no tampering with the Ordinal, or any relaxation in subscription to the Articles allowed.

§ XIV. *Whitgift's Three Articles of April, 1584.*

These Articles have been very inaccurately stated to be the same as Parker's Three Articles, or, rather, Parker's Three Articles have been passed over because they were considered to be the same as Whitgift's Three Articles. Even in the preface to the *Liturgical Services, Queen Elizabeth*, edited by the Parker Society, this mistake is made of confounding these two sets of Articles. We have seen what Parker's Articles really were. The following are those issued by Whitgift:—

I. That Her Majesty, under God, hath, and ought to have, the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within her realms, and dominions, and countries, of what estate ecclesiastical or temporal soever they be. And that none other foreign power, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, or preeminence, or authority ecclesiastical or temporal, within Her Majesty's said realms, dominions, or countries.

II. That the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, containeth nothing in it contrary to the Word of God. And that the same may be lawfully used; and that he himself will use the form of the said book prescribed, in public prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, and none other.

III. That he alloweth the book of Articles of religion, agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both provinces, and the Clergy in Convocation holden at London, in the year of our LORD, 1562, and set forth by Her Majesty's authority. And that he believeth all the Articles therein contained to be agreeable to the Word of God. [Strype's *Whitgift*, vol. i. p. 230.]

None were permitted to "preach, read, catechise, minister the Sacraments, or to execute any other ecclesiastical function, by what authority soever he be admitted thereunto, unless he first consent and subscribe to these Articles, before the Ordinary of the Diocese wherein he preacheth, readeth, catechiseth, or ministereth the Sacraments."

The enforcement of subscription to these Three Articles gave great offence to the "maintainers of the discipline of God," as

the Puritans and Parity-men called themselves. "They struggled with all their might to have them vacated or thrown aside," as Strype expresses it, and the country swarmed with pamphlets against the Bishops for "depriving many faithful ministers of the Gospel for not subscribing."

Of course the second was the great rock of offence, *because it enjoined subscription to the Prayer Book and Ordinal*. To use Strype's forcible expression, —

The second of which, viz., the approbation of the Common Prayer Book, and the form of Ordering Ministers, to be agreeable to the Word of God, *would not down with many that had offices and places in the Church*. [Strype's *Whitgift*, vol. i. p. 241.]

During Grindal's primacy, especially in the latter years, when he was growing blind, some men who did not believe in Episcopal ordination may have been admitted. Perhaps in some rare cases, men who had been "ordained" abroad in the Protestant communities at Antwerp or Geneva, had thrust themselves not into the ministry of the Church, for that they could not do so long as the Ordinal lay unrepealed, but into the cures or benefices of the Church, and thus like wolves in sheep's clothing appeared to be ministers of the Church. Perhaps there may have been such cases, although not a single authentic case has yet been brought forward of an un-episcopally ordained man having been wittingly admitted. The Queen and the Archbishop were, however, determined to enforce the law of Church and State against Papists and Puritans alike.

If the second Article was aimed against the Puritans, the first was against the Papists, and the third against both of them. The wording of the third Article, be it noted, leaves no room for even Puritan quibbling, he has to profess belief in "*all the Articles*."

The bishops proceeded with their visitations, and everywhere enforced subscription to the "Three Articles." A list is given by Strype of nonsubscribing ministers. Lord Burghley made some notes as to the opinions and doctrines of these men. They are all puritanical objections, not one of them is a Roman objection, showing plainly, if proof were needed, the class of nonconformists against whom these Articles were intended.

A few of these and other Puritan objections will show their opinions as to what the Ordinal taught; will prove whether the

voice of the Church of England was uncertain on the question of the exclusive validity of Episcopal ordination or not in their ears.

The Book allows to the Clergy a superiority, and establisheth not the authority of the Elders. It is contrary to God's word to order these degrees in the Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

Bishops and Priests can give no reason of any calling they have out of the Word of God.

The whole government of the Church is declared to be, —

Thus, he that teacheth in doctrine, is *Doctor*; he that exhorteth in exhortation, is *Pastor*; he that distributeth in singleness, is *Deacon*; he that ruleth in diligence, is *Senior*; he that showeth mercy in cheerfulness, is *Widow*.

The people ought in every Church, by the Word of God, to choose their own Ministers. . . . Every Church, by the prescript rule of God's Word, ought to have a perpetual government of Doctor, Pastor, Seniors, Deacons, etc., which ought to rule and govern the whole Church, and every member of the same.*

The Archbishop drew up the following three deductions that would follow from refusal to subscribe the Three Articles: —

I. If you subscribe not to the Article concerning the Book of Common Prayer, then by necessary consequence must follow, there is not the true service of God, and right administration of the Sacraments in the land.

II. If you subscribe not the book of Ordering Ministers, then it followeth your calling is unlawful, and the Papist argument is good: *No calling, no ministry, no Church*, etc.

III. If not to the last Article, then you deny true doctrine to be established in the churches of England, which is the main note of the Churches. And so I see no reason why I should persuade the Papists to our Religion, and to come to our Church, seeing we will not allow it ourselves. [Strype's *Whitgift*, vol. i. p. 248.]

When the Puritan party of the Privy Council complained to the Archbishop as to the rigor with which he was enforcing subscription to his "Three Articles," he, in the course of his reply, threw out this challenge: —

And here I do protest, and testify unto your Lordships (of the

* Taken from the answers in writing of Dudley Fenner. Strype's *Whitgift*, vol. i. p. 246. The following names are mentioned as having been given by this Fenner in baptism: Joy Again, From Above, More Fruit, Dust.

Privy Council), that the Three Articles, whereunto they (the non-conforming ministers) are moved to subscribe, are such as I am ready by learning to defend in manner and form as they are set down, against all mislikers thereof in England or elsewhere. [Strype's *Whitgift*, vol. i. p. 255.]

No wonder "the Brethren," the "pseudo-evangelicals," the "Gospellers," the "Godly disciplinarians," and all their like-minded friends who had been so strenuously fighting for the "parity of ministers," called this year of grace 1584 "the woful year of subscription."

§ XV. *The Twenty-four Articles of May, 1584.*

Whitgift succeeded Grindal in the Archbishopric on September 23, 1583. Grindal, who had been lax both by inclination and through failing health, had not enforced the laws against the Puritans as rigidly as his predecessor. Whitgift determined to enforce conformity. With that object in view twenty-four Articles were drawn up by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners under authority of the Queen, in May, 1584.

These Articles were framed on a different model from all the previous ones. A man had simply to subscribe to the former formularies, or else be refused ordination, or compelled to resign his cure. Now the proceeding was different. The burden of proof that he was not guilty was thrown on the accused; as will be clearly seen by reciting any one of the Articles.

Take the eighth for example.

8. *Item objicimus, ponimus, et articularum*, that for the space of theise three years, two yeres, one yere, half a yere, three, two, or one moneth last past, you haue at the tyme of communion, and at all or some other tymes in your ministration, vsed and worne onlly your ordinarie apparel and not the surplesse, as is required; declare how longe, how often, and for what cause, consideration, or entente youe haue so done, or refused so to doe. Et objicimus conjunctim de omnim, et diuisi de quolibet.

This is pretty severe. It is presuming at the outset that the unfortunate accused is guilty, and forces him, at the edge of the sword, as it were, to prove his complete innocence. The whole series is directed against the Puritans, and is set in the same terms as the one quoted. The latter part of the twenty-second is the only portion of them directly affecting a

Papist, as it is a declaration against any foreign power, prelate, potentate, etc.

By the first one the accused is summoned to declare that you are a Deacon, or Minister and Priest admitted, declare by whome, and what tyme you were ordered; and likewise that your ordering was accordinge to the booke in that behalf by lawe of this land provided.

By the second, that he deemed "his ordering, admission, and calling into the ministrie to be lawfull and not repugnant to the Word of GOD." The third deals with canonical obedience; the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventeenth and twentieth with "the virtuous and godly booke entituled *The Booke of Common Prayer, etc.* The eighth with the surplice, the ninth with the sign of the cross at baptism, the tenth and thirteenth with infant baptism, the eleventh with the ring at matrimony, the twelfth with objecting to use the form of thanksgiving for women, the fourteenth with the Litany, the fifteenth with changing the lesson for the day, the sixteenth with the burial service, the eighteenth the Communion office, the nineteenth with preaching against the Prayer Book and assembling at conventicles, the twenty-first with former accusations, the twenty-second with subscription to the *Prayer Book, Ordinal, and all the Articles of Religion*, the twenty-third preaching in houses or unlicensed places, and the twenty-fourth, that he has violated all the preceding twenty-three, wholly or in part. Familiar as Whitgift was with the Puritan contentions through his controversy with Cartwright, he dealt with them *omnia et singula* in these Articles. At the very outset the Puritan has to produce his letters of Orders, or give satisfactory proof of his Orders. If he cannot do that, if he cannot prove that he is ordained "*according to the law of this land provided,*" it is useless to go on further with the inquiry. He stands condemned.

Where is the uncertain Voice in 1584?

The Puritans, on the issue of these Articles, used all their influence to have them mitigated, but in vain; nor were they more successful with the petition they succeeded in obtaining from the House of Commons to the Upper House. The main clauses of that petition were that the bishops should restore such "godly preachers" as had been suspended for no other crime than their refusal to subscribe to the XXXIX Articles,

and that they should not be examined on the oath *ex officio* (meaning the proceedings under the Twenty-four Articles), but that the bishops should only act upon definite informations supplied. The Lords gave them no relief. The *legality* of the proceedings under these Twenty-four Articles was never once questioned, though their rigor was complained of.

Lord Burghley, who favored the Puritans, wrote to the Archbishop pleading for less "vehement proceedings." Whitgift, under date of July 3, 1584, defends the action of the Commissioners concerning these Twenty-four Articles, and incidentally asserts that they were "framed by the best learned in the laws," and ingenuously asks why any object to answer if innocent of the charges laid against him. "*Qui male agit odit lucem*," is the answer he gives to his own question.

To satisfy objectors the Archbishop drew up a paper of "Reasons" why culpable ministers should be examined on their oaths as set out in the twenty-four Articles. These "Reasons" are given at length in Strype's *Whitgift*, vol. i. p. 318. The eleventh is as follows:

XI. The Article for examination whether these bee Deacon or Ministers ordered according to the lawes of this lande is most necessarie: First, For the grounding of the proceeding, least the breache of the Book bee objected to them, who are not bound to observe it: Secondly, To meet with such schismaticks (whereof there is sufficient experience), *which either thrust themselves into the ministrie, without any lawful calling at all, or ellse take orders at Antweorpe, or ellswhere beyond the sea.*

The "lawful calling" is the calling according "to the lawes of this lande," and "the lawes of this lande" are, no calling is lawful which is not according to the Ordinal, which admits only of Episcopal ordination.

"Orders at Antweorpe or ellswhere beyond the sea" were Presbyterian "orders," and these are declared to be not "according to the lawes of this lande," as not being according to the Ordinal.

What becomes of the theory that the exclusive validity is not the sole view to be tolerated and taught in the Church of England?

ARTHUR LOWNDES.

(To be continued.)

The History of Israel.

History of the People of Israel till the Time of King David, by

ERNEST RÉNAN. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

The Jews, or Predictions and Fulfillment, an Argument for the

Times, by SAMUEL H. KELLOGG, D.D. New York:

Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

NO people have played a more important part in the history of the world than the people of Israel; and no people are more likely to influence the future of civilised nations than this same people. Their origin dates backward to a remote period, and by the light of the Scripture narrative is distinctly traceable to the pre-determinate counsel of GOD. A Divine, miraculous influence is discernible in every stage of their progress, and in all the variations of their condition; whilst in their present relations throughout the world, as well civil as social and religious, therein may be seen a literal fulfillment of the prophetic Scriptures, and a standing testimony to the truth and Divinity of the Christian religion.

In the increased interest which of late years has been evinced in this subject there is proof of an awakening of GOD's Holy Spirit, if not a preparatory sign that the "fullness of the time" is at hand; and in the numerous works in which the history of the Jews has been warranted, and the bearing that history has upon the evidence of one faith and the Divine government of the world, there is supplied all the information that is needed for the formation of a sound judgment.

The *History of the People of Israel till the Time of King David*, by Ernest Rénan, and *The Jews, or Prediction and Fulfillment*, by the Rev. Dr. Kellogg, are two of these works, which deserve attention. They are very dissimilar in their character, and will produce a different effect upon the minds of thoughtful readers. Both are scholarly, and both are instructive. But each proceeds upon a distinct assumption, and aims at a widely different object. By Rénan the history of the Jews is treated very much as a collection of legendary stories, many of them highly romantic, but at the same time highly improbable. With Dr. Kellogg, on the other hand, the history is accepted as literally or substantially true, and as susceptible of confirmatory evidence from the traditions and history of

these nations, and from monumental inscriptions and records. We can not hesitate in deciding which of these views shall be accepted as the one more inherently probable, and as more in accord with the purpose and government of GOD, and with the facts of a national and universal history as they are commonly received and understood. The one is a theory of doubt; the other of faith. By the former a way is prepared for universal skepticism; by the latter an impregnable basis is laid on which we can rest our hope and all.

The work of Rénan is but a fragment. It brings the history down only to the time of David. In two succeeding volumes the story is to be completed; and thus in Judaism and the Jews will be laid the foundation for the history of CHRIST and Christianity, which has been begun in his *Life of JESUS*.

It is, so far, a work of profound ability, written in a charming, fascinating style. But it abounds in sophistry, and is intended throughout to discredit the Old Testament Scriptures. The existence of the Jews as a distinct nationality must be admitted or assumed. That fact can not be got rid of by any ingenious reasoning. A doubt might be raised as to the identity or reality of individuals, as indeed Rénan has insinuated that there was no such man as Moses. But the people themselves stand out too boldly to admit of question; and hence the author is compelled to recognise their small beginning, their rapid growth, and their magnificent possessions. With him the difficulty is to account for the phenomena of their history without the admission of supernatural or miraculous agency. He has, therefore, adopted the comparatively modern hypothesis that their character and condition were nomadical, and that all the singular incidents which characterised them from the time of Abraham to the conquest of Canaan, and subsequently to the enthronement of David as the head of a separate kingdom, were explainable as natural principles, and partook very much of the nature of legends or myths which the imagination of the people magnified into special manifestations of their divinity or god.

This is the bare, bald theory which Rénan has elaborated. It is ingenious but not original. He has borrowed it from some of the earlier German theological writers; and he has certainly advanced upon his models. But with all his rhetoric and logic he has failed to make clear that this modern theory

should be accepted in preference to the uniform testimony of both Jews and Christians for more than two thousand years that GOD had chosen the Jewish race as His own peculiar people, and that He has signalised His care and governance of them by signs, and wonders, and divers miracles in sundry places. Have there been no impartial historians in the past? no authentic records of current events? no established laws of evidence? no contemporaneous witnesses? no concurrent testimony? no collateral proof? Are not these facts treasured up in the Jewish archives? Have they not been widely diffused among foreign nations? Have they not been accepted as authentic by moralists, by jurists, by philosophers, by divines, by scholars of every country? Have they not formed the basis of legislation in the past? and do they not to-day enter essentially into the most remarkable phenomena the world has ever seen? And is this consensus of judgment to be rejected as worthless? and must this phalanx of critics be renounced in deference to a modern rhetorician and for the adoption of a theory which transforms fact into fable, and which prefers visionary conjectures to substantial and well-attested proofs? Such a theory indeed, must lead us further than this; for just in proportion as we ignore the supernatural and miraculous we virtually deny the existence and government of GOD. And the idea, if not the plain assertion, of M. Rénan is that the GOD of Israel "was not the absolute ELOHIM, the great GOD, King and Providence of the whole universe," but rather one of the many local gods which every nation or people chose for itself, who was "monstrously partial toward Israel, and cruelly severe upon other peoples," and whom the ancient nomads dignified by the name of "Jahoch," afterward changed into JEHOVAH. This is a very different interpretation from the commonly received principle of the Hebrew Scriptures and religion, and from the all but universal testimony of theology and philosophy during the whole of the Christian era; and in view of this fact the question is very pertinent, how came M. Rénan by his superior illuminations? and which is the strong, irrefutable proof that this is something more than vain conjecture or ingenious sophistry?

The story of the Hebrews is simple and consistent when accepted on the universally recognised principles of historical criticism. As Rénan himself says: "It was during the patri-

archal age that the destiny of Israel began to be written, and nothing in the history of Israel can be explained without reference to the patriarchal age." By a supernatural revelation and decree Abraham was constituted the head of the race, and summoned to leave his native land in Ur of the Chaldees, and journey on by faith to the land of Canaan, which should afterward be inherited by his posterity. In the migratory journeys and romantic incidents which characterised the lives of the patriarchs down to the time of their sojourn in Egypt, there was evidence of Divine care and of a gradual evolution of a Divine plan. Their residence in Egypt formed part of the covenantal arrangement, whilst their deliverance from the bondage of the Pharaohs, and their journeying in the wilderness, and their final conquest and possession of Canaan, demonstrated the Divine supremacy and verified the Divine promise. The same fact was illustrated in Canaan under the administration of the judges and the governance of the kings, and alike by civil conquest, by social blessing, by religious rites, by the fruitfulness of their land, and the glory of their temple, it was shown that they were in a special sense the chosen people of GOD, and that He was mindful of the covenant which He made with their fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. These facts form an integral part not only of national but of universal history. They have been preserved not simply by verbal traditions but in written records. The Jews glory in their possession and in the prestige they have given to their nation; and as well by ancient as by modern nations their validity has been recognised and their influence duly admitted.

In view of these facts the mythical theory of Strauss and Rénan and their English coadjutors is reduced to a simple absurdity. It has no foundation in reason; there is not even a presumption for it in the history of other nations. We may as well attempt the transformation of the facts of early Grecian and Roman history into legends and fables as those which are characteristic of Jewish history. They stand without a parallel. The coincidences mentioned by Rénan are wholly insufficient to account for the very varied phenomena; and unless we accept as literal and true these patriarchal stories, and these subsequent Jewish records, and unless we recognise in them a supernatural power and pre-ordained plan, we must admit a concatenation of events, and a precision,

order, and harmony in their occurrence which can not be found in the history of any other nation, and which constitute in themselves a greater miracle than that implied in the assumption of Hebrew history and Christian theology, that the Jews were the elected people of GOD, and that in every stage of their history He exercised over them a special providential care, often requiring a miraculous intervention in their favor. This is the belief of Christendom; and the imposing rhetoric, and dogmatic assumption, and specious sophistry of M. Rénan, in his *History of the People of Israel*, will no more invalidate that belief than the unblushing skepticism of his *Life of Jesus* has served to obscure the glory and diminish the influence of the GOD-Man, CHRIST JESUS our LORD.

In the recognition of this principle or fact Dr. Kellogg has prepared his work on the fulfillment of prophecy in the history of the Jews; and it is refreshing indeed to turn from the empty theorising and vapid declamation of Rénan's History to the solid principles and cogent reasoning of Kellogg's Fulfillment. With him the history is real. By him that history is treated as "an argument for the supernatural inspiration of the Christian Scriptures"; and in his pages argument, and fact, and proof are piled on each other in overwhelming force to show that prophecy has been fulfilled in history in the most marked and circumstantial manner, and that the Jews to-day form a living monument of the truth of Scripture and of the providence of GOD. The details of Dr. Kellogg's argument may be followed with great advantage; and, if ever, it is to-day clear that the Jews present a strong, irrefutable argument in favor of Christianity.

T. CARTWRIGHT.

Easter Elections and Parochial Lay Officers.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS ought to afford the Church in the United States an experience ample to enable the General Convention to adjust any of the points in her polity concerning which either new or more definite legislation is necessary. That such legislation is needed has long been acknowledged, and various efforts in that direction have been made during the past fifteen years. Committees made up, for the most part of able and competent men, have been appointed to examine into and report what legislation was necessary to meet the exigencies in each case. But practically nothing has been accomplished. The various reports contain some admirable suggestions and yet in some cases show a lack of research and knowledge of the literature of the subjects with which they have dealt. This must be attributed to a failure on their part to give the time necessary for thorough investigation.

The most urgent matters needing adjustment are :

1. The defining of the functions, or rights and duties of Clerical and Lay Officers of parishes.
2. Properly constituted courts of first and last resort, for the due administration of the Discipline of the Church.
3. A provincial system that will give to every Diocese the benefits such a federation it is supposed will confer upon the Church.

Men filling the offices created or recognised by the Church may look in vain in the Canons for a definite statement of the functions appertaining to the offices they hold, and it is not to be wondered at, that in some cases they over-step the limits of their rights or fail to discharge the duties incumbent upon them. Or again, that men are elected to offices of great responsibility who are morally unfit to fill them, and whose sense of decency and propriety would cause them to decline such elections if they knew the requirements of the positions they were called upon to occupy.

There is not a constitutional body in the world, either civil or religious, whose system of judicature is so defective as that of the Church in the United States. The Canons providing for our courts are out of harmony with the Divine Constitution of the Church. This wretched state of things has entailed much trouble on the Church. Persons who, even, have been justly condemned, have been regarded as martyrs, and Bishops made to bear the odium of giving countenance to an unfair trial, when a court of last resort and appeal would have prevented much bitter feeling and proclaimed to the world, beyond question, that the accused party had had every opportunity to prove himself innocent.

If Canon 6 of Title III is supposed to be an effort in the direction of a Provincial system, it is unworthy of respectful consideration, and should be removed from the Digest with as little ceremony and delay as possible, and it might well be expected that the deputies from the States of Illinois and New York would be glad to see that it was properly buried.

The object of this article is only to deal with a part of the first topic—Parochial Lay Officers. To consider the subject from an historical point of view and in accordance with the principles of Ecclesiastical Law is beyond the limits of a review article, and was in part attempted in the work published in 1879 (long since out of print), on *The Rights and Duties of Rectors, Church Wardens, and Vestrymen in the American Church*.

The distinguished members composing the Joint Committee reporting to the General Convention of 1886 on the *Functions of Rectors, Wardens, and Vestrymen*, judging from their report, imagined that they were limited in the field of their investigation. The Rev. Dr. Rudder, Rector of S. Stephen's Church, Philadelphia, in the eloquent and able speech in which he asked for the appointment of this Committee in 1867, neither prescribed nor intended to prescribe limits in the investigation of the great subject intrusted to the Committee. The very nature of the subject precluded any such supposition. If this particular National Church had any "principles" or "laws," or both, on the subject, it was not necessary to appoint a committee to find out what they were. The field for investigation was designed to be as broad as the Church itself. The Common Law and "principles" of the Church reach back to the earliest councils.

As we read their report, we find the Committee overstepping their imaginary boundaries and broadly stating some of the principles and Common Law of the Church.—Generally speaking the report may be accepted. But it is to the Canon they propose, “in which the principles above stated and our existing laws are formulated,” that objection is made as making “confusion worse confounded.” For the benefit of those who may not possess a copy of the Journal of the General Convention of 1886, the report of the Joint Committee is here given. And then our objection to the proposed Canon will be made and a Canon proposed which we think embodies the principles and laws of the Church on this particular part of the subject.

REPORT OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE FUNCTIONS OF THE RECTORS, WARDENS AND VESTRYMEN, ETC.

THE Joint Committee on ‘The Functions of Rectors, Wardens, and Vestrymen, etc.,’ beg leave to report :

This Committee was constituted by the General Convention of 1877, but has since undergone serious changes by death and resignation, which have done not a little to arrest its action on the important subjects committed to its keeping. The Committee, however, presented a very full and comprehensive report, accompanied by a draft of a canon recommended at the Convention of 1880, which was referred back to the Committee for further consideration, by the concurrent action of the two Houses.

The subjects referred to the Joint Committee are contained in the following resolution, viz :

‘*Resolved*,—That a Joint Committee of both Houses, consisting of three Bishops and three Clerical and three Lay Deputies, be appointed to consider and report to the next General Convention what are the several functions of Rectors and of Wardens and Vestrymen, in the control and administration of parishes, ascertaining the rights and authority of each in the premises, according to the principles and laws of the Church, and reporting to the next General Convention, what, in their opinion, is the best method of making those principles and laws of effect.’

And also in another resolution, as follows :—

‘*Resolved*,—That it be referred to the Joint Committee on the Functions of Rectors, Wardens, and Vestrymen, to consider and report to the next General Convention what is the law of the Church in relation to the constitution of Vestries, and that they also report what legislation, if any, is necessary and desirable on that subject.’

Your Committee is clearly shut up by these resolutions to ‘the

principles and laws of the Church ' as its guide in the ascertainment and statement of the duties, rights, and authority of Rectors and Vestries respectively,— or ' Wardens and Vestrymen ' as the Vestry is called in one resolution. It is evident at once that a sharp distinction must be drawn between the ' principles ' and the ' laws. ' The former are indisputable and abundant ; the latter are obscure and seriously deficient. It will be at once conceded, that, so far as the one party is concerned, the Church's principles may be gathered from her consistent dealings with her clergy all the way up from the Declaration of Candidateship to the Subscription that is twice made a condition precedent to her gift of Holy Orders ; and then through the Exhortations and Questions of the two Ordination Offices, and finally the weighty words of the Office of Institution. Even the symbolic acts of such public and solemn transactions shadow forth a *principle*. But the Church's *laws* are quite another matter. They may not be read even in the momentous moral obligations of Subscriptions and Ordinal Questions, but only in the few and incomplete *Canons* concerning Rectors and Vestries. Laws are not to be gathered out of inferences or symbolism. Nevertheless, it may be found that the covenants contained in Subscriptions and Ordination vows *create obligations* ; moral laws, that are of the very essence of the pastoral relation in this Church ; no rectorship may be conceivable without them ; and, although not often unearthed for exhibition, they may be the foundation-stones of all possible pastoral functions, rights, and authority in this Church.

Now, as to the Church's laws bearing on the functions of Wardens and Vestrymen, it seems hardly credible at first statement that this national Church is so ill-furnished in a matter of such importance. If it were all remanded to *Diocesan* legislation, it were wise enough, but it is not ; very much seems to be left to nothing better than ' art and man's device, ' which, in many of our parishes, is an uncertain but not an unknown quantity. Besides, there is much and important legislation in the Digest concerning some of the difficult and delicate relations of the parties, and a great deal of official action required of Wardens and Vestrymen, in matter of gravest concern. Let us look for a moment.

The Digest legislates concerning the Vestry's duties in respect to the admission of candidates, their subsequent candidateship, and their ordination ; such notice of a Rector's election, as becomes legal evidence ; the institution of the Rector ; the sometimes necessary steps in the dissolution of the pastoral relation ; the prevention of official acts by unlicensed foreign Clergymen ; occasionally, the making of the Annual Report at Convention ; the ' giving information to the Bishop, of the state of the congregation, ' when required at visitations ; the occasional certification of a Communicant's good standing ; the question of the formation of new Parishes and new Dioceses ; the information against a Minister for neglect or refusal " to officiate within his cure, " and against a Bishop for declining to visit one of his churches ; and the holding of title to church estates, millions upon millions of property in sacred buildings being under the control of these corporations.

These things, doubtless, ought the Church to do ; but ought she to leave the other undone ? Your Committee asks your attention to what is left untouched by law. With all these responsibilities laid upon Vestries, there is no legal requirement that any Parish in the United States shall have a Vestry ; or, if it be pleased to have one, no intimation whether its members shall hold for one year, or during good behavior ; whether they shall be elective, or appointed by patronage, or by Trustees ; whether they shall be all Wardens, or none ; whether the Rector shall have the right of presiding, voting, or even of being present at meetings often so vitally important to the welfare of the Parish for which he is responsible, or shall be ignored altogether ; whether full membership in the Church which he represents or even attendance at its service, shall be a necessary qualification for any Warden or Vestryman, or, whether all may be non-Churchmen, even unbelievers ; whether, when the Parish falls vacant, the Bishop shall be informed of the fact, or discover it, sooner or later, by rumor more or less credible : whether in the filling of said vacancy, he who is Divinely appointed to the care of all the Churches within his Diocese shall have opportunity for counsel (not control) and also knowledge of the names to be presented for election, or whether all may be effected unknown to, or even concealed from, the Bishop. So too, with the same unhappy consistency, the Church's law nowhere requires the Rector or Minister to notify the Bishop of his intended or actual resignation of his Parish, whether it be with or without his people's approbation, or to the advantage or the temporary ruin of his Church. So that all that appertains, directly or indirectly, to the filling and the vacating of every Parish in the United States, with the vastly momentous issues for the Church of God and its Clergy resulting therefrom, may be begun, continued, and ended, without the official knowledge or assent of any Bishop in the Church, save in the few cases where a Bishop's part is to say of an elected stranger, ' He is ecclesiastically in good standing ;' and in the fewer cases still, where he must accept the invitation to mediate in wretched quarrels over a desired but withheld resignation. Is there another Church in Christendom, reformed or unreformed, Episcopal or non-Episcopal, of whose government such a statement can be made ? Methodism, Presbyterianism, Congregationalism even, is ' law and order ' perfected, as compared with such a condition of things as this.

So much for the existing *law* of the Church in relation to the constitution of Vestries.

As to the '*principles* of the Church ' which bear upon ' the several functions of Rectors, and of Wardens and Vestrymen, in the control and administration of Parishes,' and the ' rights and authority of each in the premises,' no such deficiency is to be noted. True, the discovery of the Church's principles as they affect *Vestries* is to be gathered not chiefly from any authorised statement, but in part from a sort of common law inherited from the Mother Church, along with its greatly modified parochial system ; partly from such general agreement as is found in all Diocesan legislation and parochial con-

stitutions; partly—but with caution—from such State laws touching Vestries as have been accepted or even promoted by the Churchmen of the several States; and, perhaps most fully, from the universal understood mind of the Church, as to the place and office of Vestries. But the principles of the Church, as they affect *Rectors*, are so plain that he who runs may read, if he only have the Book of Common Prayer with him.

But before stating these principles, as they concern both Rectors and Vestries, two things should be distinctly understood: viz., that the Ministry is of God, and is essential to the Church's high calling, and that the parish system, with its Vestry, is of man, and is non-essential. Some of the offices of religion can not be discharged without a Ministry; all of them may be without a Vestry, or even a parish. The Vestry was unknown to the earlier and most glorious days of the Church, while its Ministry shines out as a crown of glory. From those martyr days when so many died for CHRIST who still live in history with the titles of honor, 'Priest,' 'Confessor,' 'Virgin,' appended to their names, no martyr has come down to us with the cognomen 'Vestryman.' The Vestry system, as we have it in America, is a very modern thing, a creation of this American Church. Hence, anything which should make the modern Vestry lords over the ancient Ministry, 'having dominion over their faith' instead of sharers of their labor and joy, would be unscriptural, unhistorical, tyrannical, intolerable. Nevertheless, the parish, and its official representative, the Vestry, is a providential creation of this American Church, and is to be respected, utilised, honored. Nobody expects, a few desire, to see it done away with. The whole history of this Church were another thing without our potential and generally efficient parochial system. If the two elements, now generally necessary to the fullest development of Church life in the American parish, be only in place, vigor, and harmony, the Church is at its best as a holy power for the Master in almost any community.

The Vestry, according to the principles of the Church, is the chosen representative of the Parish in all things temporal, and in such things spiritual as, of Christian liberty and responsibility, belong to every man—and therefore to every parishioner—who is in CHRIST JESUS. In all things temporal, almost as a matter of course. But higher than canonical authority makes the people a chosen priesthood, and the 'Faith once delivered' is for the great company of them and their children as much as for the little company of the Clergy. The Laity therefore must ever be—because they are Christian men and Churchmen—first learners and then conservators and defenders, so far as in them lies, of the doctrine, discipline, and worship of this their Church. The Canon law in many instances, as well as their Christian calling, summons them to this office. So long as our American organisation of lay-influence in parishes, Diocesan Conventions, and General Convention abides, that dark day for the Church will be kept distant, when its hundreds of thousands of communicants shall be allowed to think that they

have nothing to say, through Christian and orderly encouragement, countenance, remonstrance, or protest, concerning the doctrine, discipline, and worship that are ministered to themselves and their children in their own Churches; whether those ministrations be in glad accord with, or undeniably—perhaps avowedly—in defect or in excess of, the Book of Common Prayer. The Church dare not welcome, among the devout and intelligent multitudes who constitute her communion, the ignoble, indolent, or cowardly Gallio temper, that ‘cares for none of these things.’

The general function, then, of the Vestry, as the laity's representative, in this National Church, should be to represent the best intelligence, most loyal Churchmanship, and most earnest piety of the Parish, in matters temporal and spiritual. Its especial functions are to act for the Parish in the safe-keeping and wise administration of the funds, income, and buildings of the Parish; in case of a vacancy in the Rectorship, to take counsel of the Bishop, and diligently to seek for a Clergyman *adapted to the work and wants of that parish*, with a view to his election to the Rectorship thereof; to take heed that the party electing, as well as the party elected, has perfect understanding of the canonical permanency and powers of Rectorship, and knows that the terms of ‘the call’ make an abiding legal contract, to be stated in the call and entered of record; to arrange for the collection and payment, with honorable punctuality and conscientiousness, of all salaries mutually agreed upon, until mutually and lawfully readjusted; to provide all things necessary and convenient for the use of the Church, in such times, ways, and offices as are agreeable to the fundamental law for Rector and people both,—the Book of Common Prayer; to encourage and strengthen the Rector, by attendance, commendation, and co-operation in his efforts to make such full, fair, and attractive presentation of the Church in its beauty of holiness, as avoids alike occasion of offence to those without, and of distress to those within, so doing all things to edification; to second the Rector, in like manner, in all his well-planned methods of developing and increasing the spiritual, social, and physical welfare of his people, through friendly visiting, religious services, societies, Sunday schools, and the like, ever remembering their office as chosen helpers unto the kingdom of God; and showing that—as, according to the principles of the Church, the Rector is the head and leader of the Christian work-fellows, not the sole worker—no mere distaste of his methods, or preference for other agencies, can justify inaction or opposition, provided all be done in accordance with the abiding covenant of all pastoral relationship, viz., ministration according to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of this Church.

What are the functions, rights, and authority of the Rector in the administration of the Parish, according to the principles of the Church, was determined in larger part before he reached Rectorship. For a Rector is only a commissioned shepherd of the flock of CHRIST now set over a particular flock; and his essential duties and obligations come from his office, not from his sheep or the

pasture. He is, as Rector over one Church, just what he has solemnly covenanted to be as a Minister of CHRIST everywhere and always. No one in a parish would have thought of calling him to the Rectorship, save for the facts, declarations, beliefs, promises, and covenants prior to and incident upon his ordination; and these are, unquestionably, the conditions precedent, the underlying obligations of all possible Rectorship in the American Church. If the called Minister forgets them, he is ignoring the bond, and failing in his contract with his Parish; if the people willingly see them forgotten, hand is joining in hand, but both parties are overlooking their obligations to the Church of God, which is larger than their Parish.

The Rector, at the time of his call, was understood by himself and by all parishioners who read the Ordination and Institution Offices, and a few simple Canons of the Church, to be a devout man called of God, to his office sufficiently learned for his work, under willing obligations as to belief and public ministrations solemnly set apart to certain duties, and clothed with certain spiritual powers and rights, and with more than human authority. No Vestry or Parish, by '*calling*' him, can exonerate him from his essential and covenant obligations and duties, or deprive him of his essential rights and authority; nor may a Minister exonerate himself because he is so '*called*,' unless he expects by becoming a Rector to cease being a Minister. He brought them to the Parish when he came, and will take them with him when he goes, whatever account he may have to render of their exercise. He is bounden to the Church of CHRIST to make full proof of his Ministry according to his covenant, and, to that one parish in particular, to make that proof just there.

His functions in the control and administration of that Parish, according to the principles of the Church, are to frame and fashion the life of himself and family so as to be examples to the flock, and to be diligent in the study of the canonical Scriptures,—all of which he unfeignedly believes,—out of them instructing the people committed to his charge, and being diligent in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same, laying aside the study of the world and the flesh. He is to instruct the youth, to look after the sick and the poor, and to maintain quietness, peace and love among all Christian people, especially among those committed to his charge. Not only is he always so to minister the doctrine, sacraments, and discipline of CHRIST, as this Church hath received the same; not only to teach his people with all diligence to keep and observe the same; but he is to be equally diligent to drive away from the Church all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's Word. He is to remember the duty, which is also a *right*, often as great a privilege to himself as it is a safeguard to his Parish,—the duty of honorable deference to the Bishop in things where the Bishop is entitled to give his godly counsel. All these functions are to be discharged in the control and administration of any one Parish in particular, because they are the essential and the covenanted functions of all Ministry in general; and this particular Priest is under solemn con-

tract with the representatives of that particular Parish to give his Ministry to their Church. This is not intellectual or spiritual servility, but covenant-keeping honor and service. It is the law of contracts inspired with the gospel of love, devotion, and sacrifice. And when under changed convictions the Priest can no longer live according to his covenant, a good conscience and the law of honor will lead him to make the sacrifice which every honest man has to make towards societies, brotherhoods, guilds, and churches, whose obedient officer or member he can no longer remain; viz., to go out by the door ever open to honest convictions, and to courage sufficiently noble to act up to them.

And, further, the Rector has the right and authority to receive the financial, moral, and religious support, co-operation, and sustenance of the Parish and its Vestry in his efforts for the discharge of all these his covenanted functions. And he is authorised by the Church which commissioned him for his Ministry, to claim and enjoy all the accustomed temporalities appertaining to his cure; an amount which, in this land of infrequent endowments and too much *voluntariness*, needs to be defined more precisely than in England, but an amount which, having been defined in the original contract of Rectorship, is of binding legal obligation until legally altered. And, finally, all functions, rights, and authority in the administration of his Parish are to be exercised by the Rector as ever bearing in mind his Diocesan as well as his parochial responsibility; even as the Bishop is taught to say to him in the Institution Office: 'You continuing in communion with us, and complying with the rubrics and Canons of the Church, and with such lawful directions as you shall at any time receive from us'; you 'feeding that portion of the flock of CHRIST which is now entrusted to you, not as a man-pleaser, but as continually bearing in mind that you are accountable to the Ecclesiastical Authority here, and to the Chief Bishop and Sovereign Judge of all hereafter.'

And the Rector, according to the principles of the Church,—alas for its practice!—is to be a permanent shepherd of the flock; it being presumed that only 'urgent reasons occasion a wish in him, or in the congregation committed to his charge, to bring about a separation and dissolution of all sacerdotal connection between him and them; of all which he will give the Bishop due notice' before either party proceed to action, if he heed Church principles. And, if Church principles and Church law rule, he can not abandon his cure if he have not consent of the Parish or Vestry, nor can he be removed therefrom against his consent, without appeal to the godly judgment of the Bishop.

After this required expression of opinion concerning the 'functions of Rectors, and of Wardens and Vestrymen, in the control and administration of Parishes,' and 'the rights and authority of each in the premises, according to the principles and laws of the Church,' it only remains to report 'what, in the Committee's opinion, is the best method of making those principles and laws of effect.' Before doing this your Committee begs leave to quote, and make its own, a

conclusion of the Joint Committee's Report to the last Convention. That says:

'The more the Committee consider this subject, the more convinced they are of the wide and deep dissatisfaction as to the present relations between Rectors and Vestries: and the more convinced, also, that by no legislation possible for us can these evils be at once and altogether removed. They have roots which no Canon law can eradicate, and go down to the inherent evil of human nature which no legislation can change; only by patient efforts and slow processes can the desired result be reached. By the creation of a more Churchly and Scriptural idea of the nature and functions of the sacred Ministry; by the better understanding of the place and position of the Laity as adjuncts in Parish work; by gradual changes in State and Diocesan legislation, so as to bring the laws and the Canons into harmony with the true principles and functions of Rectors, Wardens, and Vestries; by patient dealing with existing evils, and cautiously removing obstacles to peace; by forming a healthful and enlightened public sentiment, that shall reflect Christian forbearance and toleration of minor differences as to doctrine and worship on the one hand, and stimulate Christian love and zeal, putting forth new agencies and activities on the other,—by these and kindred lines of action and forbearance, much toward quieting the unrest and soothing the irritation which exists in so many of the Parishes of the Church may be done toward remedying evils which we may not at once be able fully to remove.'

This is all true, but, it is none the less the duty of this Convention to address itself frankly, fearlessly, and earnestly, to the remedying of existing deficiencies, the providing of better methods, and the embodying of sounder principles in the Church's legislation affecting the functions, rights, and authority of Rectors, Wardens, and Vestrymen. It is believed that much may be done without intruding on the rights, real or supposed, of existing Parishes, or conflicting with State or Diocesan laws. Your Committee therefore proposes the amendments to the Digest named below, in which the principles above stated and our existing laws are formulated into Canons.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

In behalf of the Joint Committee,

M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE,
Chairman.

PROPOSED CANONS APPENDED TO THE REPORT OF
THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE FUNCTIONS OF
RECTORS, WARDENS AND VESTRYMEN, ETC.

Resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, that the following Canon be enacted as Canon 6, Title III.

OF PARISH VESTRIES.

§ i. In every Parish of this Church there shall be an annual election of Church-Wardens and Vestrymen, whose number, mode

of election, with the qualifications of voters, shall be such as the State, Diocesan, or Parish law may require; and the persons elected shall be known as the Vestry of the Parish. If not in conflict with said law, the Rector may choose one of the Wardens; and such choice, communicated in writing at the annual meeting, shall constitute that Warden's election. At least one Warden, and not less than three-fifths of the Vestrymen, shall be Communicants of the Church, and a like number shall be residents of the Parish. The Rector, unless it conflict with law as above, may take part in all meetings of the Vestry, and, when present, shall preside in the same, and have one vote.

§ ii. It shall be the office of the Vestry to represent the Parishoners both in their relations to the Rector, and in their care and zeal for the temporal and spiritual interest of the Parish, and to co-operate with the Rector in the protection of the Church Edifice from all unhallowed, ordinary and common uses. It shall be the duty of the Vestry to do all in its power to protect and preserve the Parish property against uncertainty of title, loss of rights, peril of debt and mortgage, deterioration of the fabric, misuse of trusts and funds, and the like; to provide for and secure the payment, without default or delay, of the salary of the Clergy of the Parish, and of all other duly appointed helpers in its work; to make the necessary provision for, and to encourage and sustain the Rector in the administration of, the worship, ordinances, and sacraments of the Church according to the Book of Common Prayer; to assist him as far as possible, both by means and personal co-operation, in his agencies and methods for the maintenance of piety and good works; to aid in persuading parishioners and others to resort to the Church on Sundays and other occasions of public worship, and to see that all comers are met with a Christian welcome. The Vestry shall forward, in all practicable ways, the spiritual interest of the Parish, as becometh Christian men holding sacred trusts, and so far as consistent with the headship of the Rector in all things spiritual; he having unrestricted use of the Church buildings for lawful Church services, Parochial societies, and agencies, as well as control over its sacred music, its worship, its Sunday schools, and all matters spiritual; bounden, indeed, to his Parish for his fulfillment of the covenanted duties, pledges, and trusts of the Pastoral office, as they are set forth by the Church in her Offices and Canons; but finally amenable, for alleged irregularity in teaching, ministration, or life, to the Ecclesiastical Authority of the Diocese only.

§ iii. The Vestry shall be the agents and legal representatives of the Parish (unless otherwise provided by the law of the State or of the Parish) in all matters concerning the relations of the Parish and its clergy. The Vestry shall take order for stated meetings monthly, or, at least, quarterly. It shall elect or appoint the Minister, whether it be to the office of Rector or Minister-in-charge, stating in the record and in the formal call to what office the Minister is called, the amount of salary voted, the terms of payment, and whatever else may be necessary to make a clear and valid contract not

open in the case of a Rector to alterations without the consent of both the parties concerned. The office of a Rector may not be limited by the body electing to a term of years, but is terminable only on the consent of the parties contracting, or as otherwise provided by the Canons of this Church.

§ iv. [1.] Whenever a Parish shall fall vacant, it shall be the duty of the Wardens without delay to notify the Bishop of the Diocese or Jurisdiction of the fact and date of such vacancy. It shall also be the duty of said Wardens, prior to any election, to notify the Bishop of the names proposed for the vacant office; and it shall be unlawful for the Parish or Vestry to take action on any name until the receipt of the Bishop's acknowledgment of such notification, and of his accompanying suggestions, if there be any; provided that he be at the time within the territory of the United States; and, also, this reply be not delayed longer than fourteen days after the receipt of said notification.

[2.] In the event of the election of a Rector, Minister, or Assistant Minister, it shall be the duty of the Wardens at once to give notice of the fact to the Ecclesiastical Authority in the following form, signed by those who certify:—

'We, the Church-Wardens [*or, in case of an Assistant Minister, We, the Rector and Church-Wardens*] do certify to the Ecclesiastical Authority of the Diocese [*or Jurisdiction*] ofthat the Rev. has been duly chosen Rector [*or Minister, or Assistant Minister with the Rector's approval, as the case may be*] of [*naming the Parish*].'

And if the Ecclesiastical Authority be satisfied that the person so chosen is a qualified Minister of this Church and accepts the office, he shall transmit the said certificate to the Secretary of the Convention, who shall record it in a book to be kept by him for that purpose; and such record shall be legal evidence of the certified relationship between the Minister and the Parish.

Resolved, the House of Bishops and the House of Deputies concurring, that Canon 14 of Title 1 be amended to read as follows:

§ i. [1.] No Minister, removing from one Diocese or Jurisdiction to another, shall officiate as the Rector, Minister-in-charge, or Assistant Minister of any Parish or Congregation of the Diocese or Jurisdiction to which he removes, until he shall have obtained from the Ecclesiastical Authority a certificate in the words following:—

'I hereby certify that the Rev.—— has been canonically transferred to the Diocese [*or Jurisdiction*] of——, and is a Minister in regular standing.'

[2.] If a Presbyter be duly elected Rector of a Parish, the Ecclesiastical authority may, at the instance of the Vestry, proceed to have him instituted. But the office of Institution may not be so used if the Parish be destitute of a house of worship.

§ ii. The Rector or Minister in charge of a Parish shall have control of all matters spiritual in the Parish, subject only to his covenant of allegiance to the Prayer Book, the Canons, and the godly counsel of the Bishop. He shall give order concerning the worship of the Church, together with all that appertains thereto. He shall be at all times entitled to access to the Church, for administration of the Services and Sacraments and Ordinances of the Church, for catechetical or other religious instruction, and for such other offices and functions as of right belong to a Minister of this Church.

And also that Sections 1 and 2 of Canon 14, Title 1, be repealed.

The first criticism to be made on this proposed Canon, is that its provisions should be included under Canon 3 of Title III entitled—*Congregations and Parishes*. The proposed Canon is intended to define the "Functions" of the lay officers of Congregations and Parishes. Its provisions, therefore, very naturally fall under the Canon treating of the bodies of which they are the officers—and the natural division of the Canon would be:

- § i. Parishes and Parochial boundaries.
- § ii. Election and Qualifications of Parochial Lay Officers.
- § iii. Parish Vestries.
- § iv. Church Wardens.

§ i of the proposed Canon, if it should ever become a law of the Church would, generally speaking, work more harm in five years, than the want of proper legislation on the subject has done in the whole century of our existence as a National Church. Here would be the spectacle held up before the world, of the Church officering her armies partially from her Faithful and partially from her Enemies. We would have the supreme National Council giving its permission to a Congregation to elect as Church Warden (among whose duties it is to provide for the celebration of the LORD'S Supper) a profane and ungodly man. There is more than one parish in the Church where just this state of things exists to-day—and because it is so, the cry has gone up from all parts of the Church for deliverance from this curse. Will the gentlemen of the Committee tell the public where they found the "law" or the "principles" in the Church of CHRIST giving countenance to any such enactment as they propose? Why may not every member of the Vestry and the other Warden be selected from among those who are not Communicants? There is

neither argument nor authority that can be brought forward to uphold such a monstrous and unnatural proposition as this.

Again, the provisions of this section are to be subservient to the "State, Diocesan, or Parish law." If they were to become law it might well be hoped that they would, for then a sense of decency in most parishes would restrain its members from taking advantage of some of its provisions. But if this Church is to legislate to meet the exigencies of the case, it will never allow either "State, Diocesan or Parish law" to stand in its way. It is well known that every Civil Statute regulating the internal affairs of a religious body in this country was inspired and framed in accordance with the wishes of the religious body to which it applies. Therefore if the General Convention should enact a Canon prescribing the qualifications and duties of officers of parishes in union, or hereafter to be admitted into union, with any of the Dioceses of this Church, upon petition of the Church in the several States to the Legislatures thereof, the laws would be made to conform to the Law of the Church. The question then would be one of loyalty and obedience on the part of Churchmen to the wishes of the Church expressed in her Canon Law, viz., to have the provisions in Parochial Charter and Civil Law so amended as to bring them into conformity with her Canon Law, which, if Churchmen were so minded, could be accomplished in every case.

The allusion to the Rector in this proposed Canon is out of place and belongs to Canon 14 of Title 1.

Upon the part of § ii down to the words, "he [the Rector] having unrestricted use of the Church buildings," etc., we have nothing but commendation to offer. But at this point we make serious objection. The whole of the remaining part of the Section belongs to Canon 14 of Title 1. The Vestry is supposed to have handed over the keys of the parochial buildings to the Rector when he was formally instituted, or by implication in the Call, or when he entered upon the discharge of his duties. The Wardens are entitled to keys to the Church for certain purposes, this right is inherent in their office and necessary to enable them to discharge their duties,—but they are the immediate custodians of the parochial buildings only under the Rector, and must obtain their keys from him. It may be asked who is to be the judge of

what constitutes the proper use to which the Rector may devote the parochial buildings. We answer the Rector, in the first instance and if an appeal be necessary, then to the Ecclesiastical Authority of the Diocese. Cases might arise when for immediate and temporary relief the Wardens might invoke the aid of the Civil Courts. As all this has been settled by the Civil Courts in England and the United States, it seems quite unnecessary to state it here.

In § iv of the proposed Canon, objection is made on account of its not being full and definite—and to so much of it as relates to the election of Assistant Ministers. The Vestry by right and according to the principles of Canon Law have nothing whatever to do with the choice of an Assistant Minister. The right to select all the clerical assistants belongs to the Rector of the parish. He alone is responsible for what is taught in the parish and from the pulpit, and an election by the Vestry would presuppose a choice. Imagine a Vestry electing an assistant minister who was not in sympathy with the Rector of the parish! If the Vestry must pay the salary of one or more clerical assistants they are the sole judges of the expediency of employing such clerical assistants, but can not say who they shall be. The Assistant Ministers are not members of the Civil Corporation; when the parish is without a Rector, according to the great principle of Canon Law, the Bishop is not only the remote, but the *immediate* spiritual head of the parish, and the Wardens have no right to engage a clergyman even to temporarily supply the parish without the consent of the Bishop.

The remedy we proposed is put in the form of a Canon, under the subdivisions above noted:

CANON 3.—CONGREGATIONS AND PARISHES.

§ i. [1] Every congregation of this Church shall be considered as belonging to the Diocese or Missionary Jurisdiction in which is located the church or building in which they worship.

[2] The ascertainment and defining of the boundaries of existing Parishes or parochial cures, as well as the establishment of a new church or congregation and formation of a new parish within the limits of any other Parish, is left to the action of the several Diocesan Conventions and Missionary Jurisdictions respectively. And in the absence of Diocesan

regulation the Bishop of the Diocese or Missionary Jurisdiction, acting by and with the consent of the Standing Committee thereof; and in case of there being no Bishop, to the Ecclesiastical Authority.

§ ii. [1] In every congregation or Parish in this Church there shall be an annual election of six or ten Vestrymen (the number to be determined in the Charter of the Parish) on the Tuesday next before Advent. Notice of such election and of the hour and place at which it is to be held, shall be given immediately after Morning Prayer on the two Sundays next before Advent. The Rector or Minister of the Parish or Congregation shall preside over such election, and with the Church Wardens shall determine who are entitled to vote, and the Vestrymen elected. All regular communicants of the Parish or congregation (male and female), and twenty-one years of age, shall be qualified to vote at such elections. But only male communicants twenty-one years of age shall be eligible to the office of Vestryman.

[2] There shall be a meeting of the Vestrymen so elected on the day of the election, at which the Rector or Minister shall choose one of the number for the office of Rector's Church Warden, who shall be the presiding officer in Vestry meetings in the absence of the Rector or Minister, and the Vestrymen shall choose one of their number for the office of Parish Church Warden, who shall be the Treasurer of the Parish.

[3] The Church Wardens shall be the custodians under the Rector or Minister, of the church and other parochial buildings, and for the due performance of their duties, as such, they shall receive from the Rector or Minister a duplicate set of keys to the church and other parochial buildings. They shall be responsible for the good preservation and repair of the Church fabric, the Church-yard and the Church goods, at the cost of the Parish. They shall provide such things as are enjoined for the use of Divine Service and keeping the Parish records. They shall maintain order in time of Divine Service with such assistance as they may need from the members of the Vestry. Whenever the Parish shall become vacant, or the Rector or Minister become incapacitated, or neglect to perform his duties, they shall immediately notify the Bishop of the Diocese or Jurisdiction of the fact, and request the names of such clergymen as he may recommend for temporary supply

during such vacancy or disability. They shall not permit any clergyman to officiate during such vacancy or inability of the Rector to perform his duties, without the consent of the Bishop of the Diocese or Missionary Jurisdiction. In case of vacancy they shall notify the Bishop of the names proposed by the Vestry for the vacant office. They shall not permit any action on the part of the Parish or Vestry to be taken on the name of any clergyman proposed for the vacant office until the receipt of the Bishop's acknowledgment of such notification, and of his accompanying suggestions, if there be any, provided that his reply be not delayed longer than fourteen days after the receipt of such notification. If the Bishop, at the time such notification is to be given, is not within the territory of the United States, then such notification shall be made to the Ecclesiastical Authority of the Diocese or Missionary Jurisdiction.

[4] In the event of the election of a Rector or Minister by the Vestry, they shall at once give notice of the fact to the Ecclesiastical Authority of the Diocese in the following form :

We, the Church Wardens, do hereby certify to the Ecclesiastical Authority of the Diocese (or Missionary Jurisdiction) of _____ that the Rev. _____ has been duly chosen Rector (or Minister) of _____ (naming the parish) by the Vestry thereof.

And if the Ecclesiastical Authority be satisfied that the person so chosen is a Minister in good standing in this Church, and accepts the office, he shall transmit the said certificate to the Secretary of the Convention within twenty-eight days from the receipt thereof, who shall record it in a book to be kept for that purpose ; and such record shall be legal evidence of the certified relationship between the Minister and the Parish. If the Minister is not in good standing in the Church, the Bishop shall, within twenty-eight days, inform the Church Wardens of the fact and give his reasons for not consenting to his being received as Rector of the Parish.

[5] The rights and duties of both Church Wardens shall be equal except in the cases specially provided, viz. : That the one chosen by the Rector (or Minister) shall preside in Vestry meetings in his absence, and the one chosen by the Vestry shall be the Treasurer of the Parish. The consent of both Church Wardens shall be necessary in the discharge of their duties,

and in case they can not agree, they shall submit the points of difference to the Vestry, and shall be governed by their decision.

§ iii. [1] The Vestry shall be the agents and legal representatives of the Parish, and shall do all in their power to protect and preserve the Parish property against uncertainty of title, loss of rights, and peril of debt and mortgage, misuse of its trust funds, and the like. To fix the amount of, and provide for, and secure the payment of, without default or delay, the salaries of the Clergy of the Parish and of all Lay Assistants appointed by the Rector or Minister, and confirmed by them.

[2] The Vestry shall elect or appoint the Minister, whether it be to the office of Rector or Minister-in-charge, according to the provisions made in § ii of this Canon, stating in the record and in the formal call to what office the Minister is called, the amount of salary to be paid, the terms of the payment, and whatever else may be necessary to make a clear and valid contract, not open to alterations, without the consent of both the parties concerned. It being understood by both parties that the office of a Rector can not be limited to a term of years, but is terminable only on the consent of the contracting parties, or as otherwise provided by the Canons of this Church. An Assistant Minister shall not be appointed by the Rector, at the charge of the Parish, without the consent of the Vestry, who shall fix the amount of salary to be paid him.

[3] It shall be the duty of the Vestry to forward in all practical ways the spiritual interests of the Parish, as becometh Christian men holding sacred trusts, and so far as is consistent with the headship of the Rector in all things spiritual—to encourage and sustain the Rector in the administration of the Worship, Ordinances, and Sacraments of the Church, according to the Book of Common Prayer; to assist him as far as possible, both by financial aid and personal co-operation, in his agencies and methods for the maintenance of piety and good works; to aid in persuading parishioners and others to resort to Church on Sundays and other occasions of public worship, and to see that all comers are met with a Christian welcome.

[4] It shall be the duty of the Vestry, on the occasion of the Bishop's visitation, to notify him through the Church

Wardens that they will meet him at such time as may be most convenient to him, for the purpose of giving such information concerning the temporal and general welfare of the Parish as he may desire to know.

[5] There shall be a meeting of the Vestry at least every month, for mutual conference with the Rector (or Minister) and to devise ways and means for carrying on the work of the Parish.

The change in the time for the election of Vestrymen from Easter to before Advent has long been considered desirable. In parishes where a contest is likely to arise over the election of Vestrymen, the discussion between the factions must necessarily take place during the solemnities of Lent. If these discussions concern the Rector, as in most cases they do, they cause anxiety at a time when his mind should be free to attend to the multitude of duties specially requiring his attention. Viewed from every point of observation, the change to before Advent would seem to be a desirable one.

Granting the suffrage to only the Communicants of the Parish (male and female) is certainly a most needed reform. Why should any others be permitted to elect officers who are to rule over the Parish? It can not be urged on the ground of expediency, and it can not be urged on the ground of right. What no secular organisation will permit certainly ought not to be permitted in the Kingdom of CHRIST on earth, where we are taught to look for the noblest examples and precepts.

The Church Wardens should be what their name implies. They are the Executive Committee of the Vestry. They should be the chosen of the chosen.

Such a Canon as the one here proposed would, in a large measure, tend to restore in the minds of the laity the true idea of the Bishop's office as the Chief Pastor in the Diocese.

Two things are necessary to avoid conflict between pastor and people, viz.: 1. A brief yet clear statement in canonical form, of the rights and duties of the Rector and of the officers who are the official representatives of the people, applying alike to every Parish and Congregation in the Church, and (2) by way of commentary thereon, courses of sermons to be delivered in the great centers of Church work by clergymen, specially qualified, on the Constitution and History of the Church, instructing the laity in those things concerning which most of

them know so little. This should be done by clergymen who are not in charge of the parishes in which the special instruction is given, because the laity would regard what their parochial clergy might say as special pleading for themselves. The practical Archdeacon of New York (Mackay-Smith) said in a recent report, in speaking of the desirability of special instruction, that "there might be debated the question whether the Archdeaconry would not do well to establish a Saturday afternoon Lectureship for Sunday School Teachers on the Lesson for the ensuing day. If all the parishes would unite in doing this, and in inculcating a general attendance on the part of the Teachers, to listen to some gifted lecturer, the results might be of very great value in substituting order in place of chaos, and intelligence where a vague feebleness now reigns. Or again, there might be Committees appointed to make provision for courses of Advent or Lent Sermons in certain central churches—sermons which, if dealing with Church history, would tend to provide a remedy for the dense ignorance on that subject among laymen, which pastors now feel as a clog on all their teaching, or if spiritual in their nature could do a still mightier work." These are eminently practical suggestions. The number of laymen in the Church who take the trouble to inform themselves on the history of the Church—or of Teachers in Sunday Schools, to possess themselves of the knowledge they are expected to impart to their scholars, is very, very limited.

In another article we shall endeavor to elaborate Canon 14 of Title I., on the Rights and Duties of the Clergy, in accordance with the Common Law of the Church. It will then be seen how clear and distinct are the rights and duties of the clerical and lay officers of parishes, and yet how much they are in harmony for the accomplishment of one great object.

HENRY MASON BAUM.

Notable Books.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

To this department of THE CHURCH REVIEW the Editor will invite, from time to time, distinguished men in literature and public life, to contribute their opinions upon any books which in the ordinary and natural course of their reading may strike them as being worthy mention.

Dean Plumptre's Life of Thomas Ken.

THE last work of much value and importance that many travels and tasks have afforded me time to read with care is Dean Plumptre's Life, in two large and closely printed volumes, republished by E. & J. B. Young & Co., of the great and saintly non-juror, Bishop of Bath and Wells, Thomas Ken. A capital introduction to it would be Mozley's remarkable biographical criticisms in his essays on King Charles and Strafford. Ken appears just after the fierce and bloody struggles of that tumultuous reign, his mind early possessed with the most definite and inbred convictions as to the Divine authority and order of the Christian corporation, himself a loyal British subject but owning a higher and stricter allegiance to a Kingdom at once supernatural, spiritual, and visible, a secluded student with an intense interest in public affairs, a lover of quiet scenes and calm contemplation but of an indomitable courage, uniting a gentle and patient submissiveness with an unyielding conscience and a refined and delicate breeding with an iron will, a poet and a counselor of statesmen, a fearless censor of King and Queen, yet preserving their respect, the saintly hero and the heroic saint. From his school-life at

Winchester in the middle of the seventeenth century he stands and moves among the stirring scenes of the Commonwealth and the three succeeding reigns, his heart torn and his faith assailed almost to the last, yet serene, patient, devout and wise, always in intimate communion with GOD, always just in his judgment of men, always happiest in the solemnities of worship and meditation, and best satisfied with the stillness and shadows of the cathedral, the cloister and the chapel. Impracticable as his principles obliged him to be, even to martyrdom, in the desperate conflict between the authority and rights of his spiritual office and the supremacy of the Church on one side, and a secular tyranny on the other, there never was a time, during all those protracted and painful conflicts, when he would not have rejoiced in any sacrifice for reconciliation save that of duty and the Truth.

Most readers here will learn with surprise that the author of "Glory to thee, my GOD, this night," was a brother-in-law of Isaac Walton the angler, and few have thought of him as the intimate companion or friend of Archbishop Ussher, Sir Henry Wotton, William Chillingworth, Donne, Hales and Cowley, George Herbert and Richard Hooker. The influence on Ken's character and career of these and nearly all of the most eminent Englishmen of letters and ecclesiastical position between 1650 and 1700 is traced by the biographer with remarkable discrimination. Our masters and assistants in Church-schools will find in his administration at Winchester, and in the *Manual for Winchester Scholars*, guidance and help of inestimable value. At Geneva he studied Calvinism. At home and on the Continent he had singular opportunities to know the inmost and outmost, the best and the worst, of the Church of Rome. In the measure of that knowledge is the force of his resistance to the Papal system. It does not appear that he was a vowed celibate, only every morning he took a vow that he would not be married that day! He traveled with a shroud in his portmanteau. At the head of all his private letters he wrote "All glory be to GOD," identical with Chrysostom's constant ejaculation.

The Dean gives a whole chapter to the composition and history of the Morning and Evening Hymns, with the alterations, dates, erasures and additions, in *fac simile*. It is a marvelous record of religious inspiration and holy comfort, like the

biography of a living personage. One thinks of the millions of voices of the Faithful who have said or sung these immortal verses in all the lands and homes, and churches and nurseries of English-speaking Christendom for two hundred years. By common consent these are the highest and finest fruits of Ken's intellectual life, though it is quite probable that his hand wrote the famous "Instruction" sent out by the Primate after the trial and triumphant acquittal of the seven Bishops at Whitehall.

Are there not signs that the Church is again approaching an epoch, it may be a crisis—when she will need, for the defence and preservation of the Faith, just that impressive and powerful combination of Christ-like patience and Apostolic fortitude with which Ken and his fellow-sufferers bore witness to a "Kingdom not of this world?" The enemy now coming in is not parliament or monarch; the danger is not prison or exile or headsman's axe. It is the world itself, in the madness and selfishness, the folly and fury, the indulgence and cruelty, of its social dominion, without the Church and within, which threatens the heritage, the creed, the soul, of the people of CHRIST. They who may have to confront that foe in that conflict will find refreshment and reinforcement in this story of a great captain of the Militant Host.

Ken was buried under the East window of the chancel of the church at Frome Selwood, according to his own direction, that being the church nearest to the place where he fell asleep, in 1711, on March 21. Without design I have written this sketch on the anniversary.

F. D. HUNTINGTON.

Le Purgatoire d'après les Revelations des Saints.

Le Purgatoire d'après les Révélations des Saints. Second edition. Par L'ABBÉ LOVET. Paris: 1883.

I HAVE seldom read a book of more absorbing and singular interest than the above.

It was brought to my notice by somewhat extended references to its contents in Salmon's valuable lectures on *Infalibility*, but when I came to read the work as a whole it far surpassed my expectations, and I found, like the Queen of

Sheba at the full sight of the riches of the great Solomon, that "the half had not been told me."

Much has been written about Purgatory theologically, metaphysically, controversially, and conjecturally, but here we have a collection of descriptions furnished by actual eye and ear witnesses (very much in the manner of "our own correspondent on the spot"), and who inform us from what claims to be the most trustworthy and authentic sources possible, that is, personal observations, all that we need to know of the location and construction of Purgatory, of the offenses for which we are sent there, of the agent and means of the punishment inflicted, of its probable duration for the average Christian, of the conditions under which this may be increased, and of the modes in which we may hope to have it shortened or possibly brought to a speedy end.

There is little or no theorising in the book; it is a conscientious collection of "the most certain and authentic" accounts given by various Saints of what they have themselves seen and heard of actual events relating to the purgatorial state and its occupants. The compiler says of these accounts [p. 1] that they constitute "a rich mine of which he proposes to profit" (*exploiter ce trésor*), and also that "he has cast aside all that appeared apocryphal or doubtful, and has confined himself wholly to facts attested by canonised Saints," [p. 5] which he elsewhere affirms "excludes all suspicion of falsehood."

The "embarrassment of riches" thus presented us is such that I can not attempt even an outline of their extent and variety. I can only glance here and there into some few of the passages which come first to hand, and which may illustrate the authorship and verity of the rest.

The location of Purgatory is not positively settled, but that which seems most in accord with the description of the Saints is in the center of the earth [p. 39]. This also agrees most nearly "with the conclusions of modern science" [p. 40], and seems to be put beyond reasonable (?) question by the declaration of a monk who, when listening to the sounds which accompanied the outburst of fire and smoke from certain subterranean places, heard mingled with these the "groanings of souls who had not yet satisfied entirely for their sins" [p. 35]. Now, if there had been no souls there, of course he could not

have heard their groanings, hence there must be a Purgatory near the spot, and these were the cries of its inmates; what else could they be?

But one thing is certain: that is, wherever Purgatory may be, it is [p. 40] next door to Hell (*l'Enfer*),—*Le Purgatoire et l'Enfer sont voisins*.

The means of punishment in both, too, is "fire the most rigorous" [p. 45], and it is the same fire which "torments the damned in Hell, and purifies the just in Purgatory" [p. 40, 47, 52].

The only difference in the two places seems to be that the souls in Purgatory will some time or other pass out of it; those *dans l'Enfer* are there for Eternity.

It may be thought that the reference to "fire" here is only a highly symbolical expression of the mental tortures of souls conscious of their evil before GOD, but the experience and observations of our informants show that it is tangible, material fire. Aquinas proved many centuries ago, so far as argument went, that the fire of Hell is the same as what we know by fire [Part III. Q. xcvi. § 5], saying of it, *Ignis semper est idem in specie quantum ad naturum ignis pertinet*,—but M. Louvet has established it by the "more sure word" of those who have actually seen and felt its sensible properties. One, an over-curious inquirer, questioned with a soul in Purgatory how intense the fire by which he was "devoured" might be; the soul assured him that in comparison with this the fiercest earthly flames would be "a refreshing breeze." His auditor being yet somewhat skeptical, the sufferer let one drop of his sweat fall on the hand of the incredulous brother; the agony was so intense that he fell immediately into a state of unconsciousness, was carried to his bed, and died a year afterward a victim to the intolerable anguish of the wound he had thus drawn upon himself [p. 55].

This and many like facts evidence also that the bodies of those in Purgatory are as material as its fires.

Thus upon another occasion a departed monk appeared to his most beloved friend on earth, and to exhibit to him some of the miseries of his purgatorial state laid "his right hand upon the table" of the refectory where they were talking, and this mere touch made an impress the same as if stamped there by red-hot iron (*un fer rouge*).

The author of *Hamlet* had evidently some such acquaintance with the secrets of this "prison house," but which at that time, as he informs us, he was "forbid to tell," for he makes the Ghost say of it :

Whose lightest word
Would harrow up thy soul, freeze thy young blood,
Make thy two eyes, like stars, start from their spheres,
Thy knotted and combined locks to part,
And each particular hair to stand on end—

And indeed as we follow the frightful doom which page after page of Abbé Louvet's histories portray in all their terrific details, we can not feel that the great poet has in the least overdrawn the agonies of these heart-rending abodes.

In fact one of the most astonishing features of the realities which the observations of the Saints make known to us is the almost inevitable certainty that a time of torture there, continuing for a period more or less prolonged, will follow on the death of even the best of Christians: "Graces the most marvelous, favor the most distinguished bestowed upon a holy soul during life and at death do not always guarantee against the flames of Purgatory" [p. 69]. One Saint was so holy that his dalmatic placed, after his death, on his coffin had the power of working miracles, and yet he had a long purgatorial term to serve after he "entered," as it was euphuistically said, "into rest" [p. 26].

In another case a pious widow came to the hour of death, and the Blessed Virgin was seen to be seated by her pillow, fanning her fever-scorched face. S. Peter in person drove away the demons who were watching outside for her soul, and "she died *dans le baiser* of the LORD," but in reply to the very natural question of the author, "Who would not have believed that a soul so favored was already entered into beatitude?" we are told by the dear old "Mother," who describes these facts, that she saw the soul of this holy woman in Purgatory, and *condamnée à de dures expiations* [p. 69].

The peculiar mode in which this pious widow departed this life "*dans le baiser du SEIGNEUR*" seems rather a favorite style of departure for the especially devout women herein mentioned; it is referred to several times, and on one occasion with more of details than merely spiritual conditions seem to call for: it is said of a sister who had lived a life of especial

Charity that "as a reward to her, *la bouche appliquée sur la bouche sacrée du Sauveur elle buvait à long traits un breuvage délicieux.*" However, even she was not admitted instantly into the Eternal felicity—and the delay we are told was because during her last sickness she had shown herself too sensible of the pains which she caused others while they were engaged in waiting upon her—and this had so far interrupted her "habitual union with the LORD" as to call for the delay of her highest felicity [p. 99].

Yet sometimes, on the other hand, souls passed almost immediately into the bliss of Heaven by means which hardly seem, speaking in the most cautious language, very distinctively spiritual. A nun of no very extraordinary virtue having died, S. Theresa, who narrates the event, saw with surprise that she mounted almost instantly to Heaven, and expressing her wonder to the LORD, He informed her "this *bonne religieuse*" had taken pains before her death to procure for herself as many indulgences as was possible, so that when she arrived "at the Divine Tribunal" she found herself almost wholly acquitted of the "very numerous debts" which were due from her to the Heavenly Justice, hence she had not been appreciably detained in Purgatory [p. 359].

As to the duration of suffering, this must of course vary with each several case, but the author by a careful arithmetical computation has ascertained that the number of mere venial sins, counting out all those that are wiped away by absolution, would leave, for a generally high type of Piety, at the end of a life of fifty years the somewhat appalling aggregate to each individual of 45,625 yet charged against him, and at the lightest allowable estimate of the time required for the expiation of these, he allots to the best ordinary style of Roman Christians, as the shortest period that he can honestly promise him, a purgatory of 123 years, 3 months, and 15 days for his individual portion. In fact unless his wealthy living friends procure many masses or indulgences for him, it is the best he can reasonably hope. While also there are myriads of others who have vastly longer times: Innocent III [died in 1216] one of the many Popes who are there, has to continue his expiations until the end of the world (*usque ad diem judicii*) [p. 125], and some persons are yet there who were present at CHRIST'S crucifixion, and who

are still uncertain when the time of their deliverance may come.

It may, however, be said that these are only the dreams of a fantastic mind and are of no value as a statement of the doctrine of the Roman Church.

They are, assuredly, not binding as absolutely *de fide*—but they do come as an approved and accepted expression of the mind of the Church on the matter presented. The decree of Trent which sets forth the doctrine of Purgatory, specifically orders “that the Bishops shall strive that the sound doctrine be held and taught everywhere; that the more difficult and subtle questions and those which tend not to edification be excluded from discourses before the multitude; that those things which are uncertain must not be treated of; and that those which tend to superstition be prohibited by them,” *i.e.*, the Bishops.

Under these stringent and binding directions no book not accepted as essentially correct and true could retain on its pages the imprimatur of a Bishop, or continue to be issued from a source especially devoted to the publication of works of undoubted orthodoxy and correctness of teaching for the instruction and guidance of the faithful.

Now this work comes from just such a source. It belongs to a series set forth by the “Société générale de Librairie Catholique” of Paris: It bears on its front page the direct approval of “the Bishop and Vicar Apostolic” of that portion of the Church with which Louvet is connected; and this Bishop says [p. 1] of the work in his introduction: “In its doctrine it seems to me correct, as also in the *ensemble* of the examples which it presents, and it ought not, I think, to remain in manuscript.” The present is the second edition, and still retains this official approval, which was first given in 1879. If this does not guarantee orthodox teaching, where shall we find it?

Hence in accordance with the rules which the Roman Church has given itself to assure its people against being misled on so important a matter, the book is certainly to be regarded as presenting that Doctrine of Purgatory which this Church deliberately approves, and desires its people to believe, and although it is not yet set forth as absolutely *de fide*—nor is in all its details necessary to our salvation, it still con-

veys to us the Purgatory taught by Rome in the nineteenth century and the character of the evidence on which that doctrine is established.

J. F. GARRISON.

Contemporary Literature.

Art and Architecture.

History of Mediæval Art. By DR. FRANZ VON REBER. Translated by JOSEPH TACHER CLARKE. New York: Harper & Brothers.

THIS is the second volume on a most interesting subject. The first treats of the History of Ancient Art, which the author shows, was divided into groups corresponding to the various nationalities. Mediæval Art was the direct outgrowth of one of these ancient groups and combinations commonly known as Roman Hellenism; and while in form and method it remained classical for many centuries, in the subjects represented it was adapted to the requirements of the early Christian communities. The subject is to be understood in its most comprehensive sense, as embracing painting, sculpture, architecture, etc., in all their manifold forms; and hardly any subject can be more instructive than a narrative of the successive changes through which art in this broad sense passed from the dawning of the Christian era, through the early centuries to the close of the Middle Ages, and the beginning of the Renaissance and the Reformation. It includes something more than a method or a style; it involves an idea, is suggestive of a principle, symbolises a fact, and alike in ideal pictures, in marble statuary, in mural tablets, in massive temples, the central or the underlying truth was the mysterious Incarnation, and the hope of immortality. In this way Art became the hand-maid of Religion; and within proper bounds the cultivation of the artistic aided in the development of the spiritual.

The perusal of this volume of Dr. Reber's can not be otherwise than instructive. He is thoroughly familiar with his subject; he conveys his information in a most fascinating style; and every part of his theme is profusely illustrated with ap-

propriate cuts. There is a wide range of subjects; and each follows the other in consecutive order. Thus every item, every period, every style or phase is represented. In a valuable Introduction the author explains the principles which enter into the discussion of the subject. This should be read carefully. It will enable the reader to appreciate more highly the narrative which follows. In this narrative there is fullness with variety, simplicity with power. Here is an intimation of some of the topics which are treated, and in the order in which they are presented: "Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture," "Painting and Sculpture," "Mohammedan Art," "Christian Art of the North until the Close of the Carolingian Epoch," "Architecture, Painting and Sculpture of the Romanic Period," "Gothic Architecture," "Painting and Sculpture of the Gothic Epoch," etc. Such a list of topics may suggest the comprehensiveness of the work. They are considered in their development in France, Italy, Germany, Spain, England, etc.; and in each country we see what changes had been made, how art had declined, and how it revived. Many of the illustrations are striking. They show the crudeness and the perfection of art; and from a perusal of the whole volume the devout student will rise with clearer perceptions of art in its nature, design, and form, and with a loftier appreciation of its influence in the education of humanity and the development of religion. The volume is a valuable addition to our numerous works on art in its different phases, for which special acknowledgments are due to both author and publishers.

An Outline History of Architecture for Beginners and Students. By CLARA ERSKINE CLEMENT. New York: Frederick Stokes & Brother.

In the judgment of the author, architecture is an art superior to both painting and sculpture. It is so because the latter are imitative arts, whilst the former is constructive. The painter and the sculptor copy from objects already existing, whereas the architect first conceives a form in his own mind, and creates out of space and nothingness, so to speak. No fault may be found with the distinction, except that in nature—in the material universe—in the great globe itself above and below—there is a model furnished by the Supreme Architect of all forms of loveliness and beauty. In her appreciation of archi-

ture as the first of arts the author of this "outline" has proceeded to define the principles, to illustrate the styles, and to stimulate the study of architecture as "the most wonderful of all the arts." And her work is exceedingly interesting. It shows on the part of the author a very intimate acquaintance with the subject, whilst the student must rise from a perusal of the work with enlarged knowledge and an enriched mind. The subjects respectively presented are Ancient or Heathen Architecture, Christian, Gothic, Byzantine, Saracenic, and Modern Architecture. These are considered in all periods, and in reference to all nations. The definitions of terms, the descriptions of forms, the illustrations of buildings, etc., are very minute and attractive; and as supplemental to or conjointly with didactic teaching and practical exercise this "Outline" will be very useful if not actually indispensable. It is suitable for both the student and the general reader, and at the present moment a special interest attaches to its illustrations of many noted ecclesiastical buildings. Of late years much advancement has been made in both the study and practice of architecture. There is still room for more; and this valuable little work will aid in the onward movement.

Belles-Lettres.

Shakespeare in Fact and in Criticism. By APPLETON MORGAN, A.M., LL.B. New York: William Evarts Benjamin.

THE world is never tired of reading Shakespeare, or of hearing about Shakespeare. Next to the Authorised Version of the English Bible no book has been so widely circulated, or so critically read, as the volume, or volumes, which contain the plays of Shakespeare. And assuredly no life has been so thoroughly scrutinised, and no character so variously portrayed, as those of William Shakespeare. The reason is that Shakespeare is a universal genius and friend. He is the common heritage of humanity. In his writings new thought may be evolved, new beauties discovered, new emotions stirred, every time they are read; and as Mr. Morgan has forcibly and strikingly put it, "William Shakespeare was a man of like passions with ourselves, whose moods and views were influenced—just

as are ours—by his surroundings, employments, vocations ; that his works are for all times that love him," and, again, that "Shakespeare—the man—is an ideal to each one of us, and his biography a pasture for poets and for dreamers always, with the personal equation always to the fore."

In these quotations may possibly be found the gist of the present work. It is not an annotated edition of Shakespeare, it is not a commentary upon all or upon any one of his plays ; it is not a biographical sketch of his life, or a critical estimate of his genius and of the influence of his works. The purpose is widely different ; and, in the words of the author himself, it is to protest, as far as one voice can, against what seems to him the cruel and unusual punishment which Shakespeare is just now receiving at the hands of the æsthetic critics. In the passionate admiration for Shakespeare, in the minute portrayal of his life, and the profound study of his works, which have become characteristic of scholars and critics, and general readers in these later times, many foolish theories have been evolved, many groundless assumptions have been made, many inexact interpretations have been given ; and thus in an attempt to idolise the poet an injustice has been done to both him and his poetry. It has been difficult, indeed, to distinguish the Shakespeare of fact from the Shakespeare of fiction, or to realise how the sober common sense, the plain matter-of-fact history, the perfect delineation of nature, and the familiar characters of life which abound in the dramas of the poet could suggest or in any sense become the foundation of the vagaries and absurdities by which many Shakespearian admirers have sought renown. This can not be put more strongly than in the words of Mr. Morgan, when he says that the "esthetes, divaricating their processes from simple demonstration of Shakespeare's beauties, have fallen to counting his lines, his syllables, and endings ; from this enumeration to conceive a certain algebra to demonstrate the 'period' and the chronology of this or that play or poem. Nay more, they even write his—William Shakespeare's—personal history from the impressions they themselves receive from this treatment of particular passages in the Plays, until there are as many William Shakespeares as there are commentators!"

This is not putting the matter at all too strongly. In the attempt to "study" or "elucidate" Shakespeare a caricature

is being made of both the man and his plays. No other writer has ever received such inhuman treatment. Of all men Shakespeare had need to pray to be saved from his friends. It was time some competent admirer and critic should expose the sophistry and absurdity of this æsthetic criticism or interpretation: and to say that Mr. Appleton Morgan has done it intelligently, vigorously, pleasantly, and completely is only to predicate what a perusal of his very able and entertaining volume will confirm. Mr. Morgan is a Shakespearian critic of strong convictions, of warm sympathies, of competent learning, of clear intuitions, yet of a strictly logical mind; and in the investigation of the subject he has brought into play all his knowledge and power, and has sought to hold the balance with an even hand. With him Shakespeare was a tangible reality—a veritable historical personage, whose existence and works may be demonstrated by, or subject to the same process of evidential proof, or inductive logic, as is applied to any other writer of a former age, in England or elsewhere. On this principle Mr. Morgan reasons for the essential humanity of Shakespeare, demonstrates the period of his existence, and the dates and circumstances of many of his principal plays, and so concludes that he was a man, as we are, and that to each of us he was or may be an ideal man. In the establishment of these propositions Mr. Morgan reasons learnedly and writes pleasantly; and indeed it is at first difficult to say whether we should most admire the perfect familiarity he has shown with both the plots, and characters, and text of Shakespeare; or the humorous, trenchant, and conclusive manner in which he has refuted the æsthetic theories, and made merry with their authors. The work is thus an important addition to our Shakespearian literature and criticism, and as such will have an important influence in correcting error, and in preserving the character and works of the poet from mutilation and massacre by some of his pretended friends.

A more general idea may be gathered of the range and variety of this work from the following enumeration of the several topics on which it treats: "William Shakespeare and his Critics," "Much Ado about Sonnets," "Whose Sonnets?" "Something touching the Lord Hamlet," "William Shakespeare's Literary Executor—the First Shakespearian Revival," "Law and Medicine in the Plays," "The Growth

and Vicissitude of a Shakespearian Play," "Queen Elizabeth's Share in the Merry Wives of Windsor," "Have We a Shakespeare among us?" "The Donnelly and Prior Ciphers and the Furnivall Verse-tests." This is a sufficiently comprehensive range of subjects to satisfy an exacting mind; but the beauty and force of the discussion as conducted by our author can be appreciated only by careful reading. In the highest degree the volume will repay perusal; and any one interested in the subject will hesitate to quit reading when he has begun until the final page is reached.

The last chapter, on the Donnelly Cipher, does not pretend to be a complete examination and refutation of the Baconian theory of the authorship of the leading plays. It is, however, sufficiently lucid and minute to show that there is no foundation in history or logic for the theory which reduces Shakespeare to a nonentity, and attributes the productions of his genius to the mind of another from whom, *a priori*, they could not or were not likely to emanate, and to justify his dictum that he "thoroughly disbelieves in every word of the theory, or in any foundation of a morsel of it." After reading this chapter, this, we opine, will be the opinion of every intelligent reader; and if only for this chapter the volume is worth having. It is handsomely printed, on good strong paper, and is such a volume as every lover of Shakespeare should possess or read.

Essays, by the late Mark Pattison, sometime Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, collected and arranged by HENRY NETTLESHIP, M.A. Two volumes. Oxford: the Clarendon Press. London: Henry Froude. New York: Macmillan & Co.

Among the prominent and influential men produced by the Oxford University during the last two or three generations a foremost place is due to the author of these *Essays*. In personal character Mark Pattison was entitled to respect; in his literary attainments and scholastic work he commanded admiration and esteem. With a profoundly philosophical mind, he united a gentle and loving heart; and as well by the students of the University as by his more immediate circle of family friends he was venerated and loved. On many questions of social and religious interest—of educational reform,

and of theological and metaphysical speculation—his views were in advance of those of some of his contemporaries, and were justly characterised as liberal and aggressive. But he expressed them with becoming deference to the opinions of others, and yet maintained them with ample illustration and conclusive logic.

Outside of the Oxford University he became generally known as one of the writers of the famous volumes of *Essays and Reviews*, which produced such a furor of excitement about thirty years ago. His essay was one of the most elaborate and instructive of the whole volume. It is reproduced in this series as the second paper in Vol. II.; and when calmly and intelligently read, apart from the confusion and irritation attendant upon the controversy which succeeded the publication of the volumes, it will be difficult to discern a legitimate ground of objection, except that it was in bad company, and was pretty free and outspoken in the expression of its opinions on the teaching of the Church and the tendency of religious thought in the last century. In addition to the essays which make up these two portly volumes, Professor Pattison published several independent works of great literary and philosophical value, and a large number of smaller dissertations which appeared in different periodicals. It may be hoped that the favor accorded in the present volumes will be such as to encourage the editor and publisher in the issue of a second series. Such valuable contributions to the literature of the Church should be put in a permanent form, and both as memorials of a great and good man, and for their profound sentiments and strong reasoning, and clear style, they will be appreciated by many who had not the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with the author, but who will readily allow his claim to be considered one of the leading thinkers of this nineteenth century.

The subjects treated of in these volumes are varied and attractive. There are in all twenty-one essays, some of which are lengthy dissertations, and all of which are exhaustive in their treatment of the topics on which they touch. In the first volume the subjects are mostly biographical and historical; in the second the preponderance is theological and metaphysical. Among the topics thus discussed the following may be taken as representative of the rest: "Gregory of

Tours," "Antecedents of the Reformation," "Life of Joseph Scaliger," "Oxford Studies," "Calvin at Geneva," "Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688-1750," "Life of Bishop Warburton," "Present State of Theology in Germany," "Learning in the Church of England," "Buckle's History of Civilisation in England." These, it must be admitted, are sufficiently varied and important to afford interest and demand thought. The characters chosen are, in a sense, representative men, whilst the movements portrayed or the principles discussed are intimately allied with the growth of civilisation and religion, and the success and influence of the English Church and scholastic literature and liberal Christianity.

It must not be doubted that the author is a believer in and an advocate of the fundamental principles of the Christian Revelation. But he wisely distinguishes between faith and reason, and requires that nothing shall be accepted as true, or believed in as essential to salvation, which is not in accordance with the dictates of reason and the impulse of nature, and which can not be supported by a strict process of historic proof and inductive logic. No exception can surely be taken to the validity of this position or principle; and in its development and support the author exposes many glaring inconsistencies and errors, and insists upon many new methods and views. The result is that the essays have an air of originality about them, and a secret attraction and charm. They abound in novel thoughts, in apt illustrations, in learned quotations, in salutary suggestions; and whether regarded for their information or for their sentiments, or for their style, they are worthy the careful perusal of critical scholars and of general readers, and will be, we are sure, prized by both. We might, indeed, take exception to a sentiment, or an expression, or an argument here and there; but why should we rail against the Sun, or try to shut out its effulgent beams, because forsooth it now and then may seem to have a spot upon its disk?

Biography.

Washington and His Country: being Irving's Life of Washington, abridged for the use of Schools, with Introduction and Continuation, giving a brief Outline of United States History from the Discovery of America to the End of the Civil War. By JOHN FISKE. Boston: Ginn & Co.

A FAMILIAR knowledge of the history of our land is both necessary and useful. It abounds in stirring scenes, and is adorned by noble names. In the study of these incentives may be found to patriotism and virtue; and in exact proportion as the country grows in population, and wealth, and power, the duty is increased to trace its origin and progress in every period and phrase, to analyse its constitution, and to understand and appreciate its institutions, its religion, and its laws. A number of works have of late years appeared as text-books for such study. Of these one of the most popular and reliable is *Washington and his Country*. It is an abridgment of Irving's Life of Washington, adapted for the use of schools. The object has been to omit unnecessary details or unessential points, and to give a more careful and extended view of the leading facts of American history, interspersed with anecdote and biography, as so many sidelights for illustration and interest.

In doing this the editor has not simply abridged Irving's work, but he has occasionally interwoven text of his own, in view of results that had not been reached when the original work was written. The "Introduction" and the "Continuation" are entirely original chapters prepared by Mr. Fiske, giving in outline rather than in detail the principal events in American history, as tending to illustrate the significance of Washington's career. In the former we have presented such topics as The Discovery, French Pioneers, The English in Virginia, The Dutch in the Netherlands, The Beginning of New England, The Later Colonies, and The Struggle between England and France. The latter shows how the United States became a nation, dwelling upon The Period of Weakness, The Second War with Great Britain, The Rise of the Democracy, The Slave Power, and The Civil War. These matters are treated with simplicity and accuracy, whilst the

life of Washington is comprehensive and full. As a textbook for schools it is admirably arranged, and its proper use by tutors and pupils will result in a very intelligent and satisfactory knowledge of the "Father of our Country," and of the process of development and growth through which the country has attained its present magnificent proportions and brilliant success. By general readers also it may be read with profit, as portraying a noble character and as narrating a remarkably diversified and instructive history.

Life of Amos A. Lawrence : with Extracts from his Diary and Correspondence, by his son WILLIAM LAWRENCE. Boston and New York : Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The life of a good man is a radiant spot on earth ; the memoir of such a life is full of lesson, and incentive, and comfort to surviving relations and friends. It shows how courageously public duty may be performed midst difficulty and danger, and how in the service of the LORD there is derived strength for the service of the State. In this respect a good example is all potent, and thus it is that many a good man, being dead, yet speaketh. Such was the life of Amos Lawrence, the record of which we have just read with much profit and pleasure. Mr. Lawrence was a New England merchant, born and educated in Boston, and associated all his life with the business, politics, and religion of Massachusetts. He descended from a worthy stock, was well educated, was remarkably successful in business, became prominent in social and political life, and was an active and energetic member and worker of the Church. In all business relations and public duties he had a due regard to the "one thing needful"; and in a spirit of true devotion and love he endeavored to carry his Master with him, and to render tribute to His glory all he acquired and did.

These things are made manifest by the letters and extracts which are here presented to the public. Through these we see the inner life and outer history of the man. In the privacy of his room, in the intercourse of his family, in the communion of the Church, in the enterprise of business, in the complications of politics, in journeys abroad, in affluence and under suffering, he is here portrayed ; and in all he appears to

be the same simple, devout, earnest, patriotic, and philanthropic man. These "fragments" of his "journal and letters," therefore, may, as the editor hopes, "recall to his family and friends his character and presence"; and, in addition, this "record of his motives and works may have an interest and inspiration" for others which they "may not find in the biographies of greater men." Such a motive sufficiently justifies the issue of the volume; and all who read it will, we are sure, be amply repaid.

Educational.

Elements of Analytic Geometry. By ARTHUR SHERBOURNE HARDY, Ph. D. Boston: Ginn & Co.

VERY seldom do we find men writing with any marked degree of success in such widely different fields as Poetry, Fiction and Higher Mathematics, and from this fact Prof. Hardy's work which has recently come to us is worthy of more than passing notice.

He is professor of mathematics in Dartmouth College, and is widely known as the author of *But Yet a Woman*, pronounced by competent critics to be the most successful novel of its year. The Geometry is identical in external appearance with Prof. Hardy's *Elements of Quaternions*, which was issued two years ago, and met with such favorable reception. Messrs. Ginn & Co. in this work present the public with a text-book which is noticeable for its typographical excellence. As to the subject-matter, we must congratulate Prof. Hardy on having very successfully avoided that rock on which so many writers have stranded, namely, a voluminousness that discourages the student, and destroys the usefulness of the book by relegating it to the shelves as a volume of reference only.

As an example of the defect mentioned we may instance the volume on *Plane Analytic Geometry*, by Prof. John D. Runkle, recently published, in which about 350 pages are covered by matter that would better have been put into half that number.

Text-books, to be widely acceptable, must not be diffuse, nor must they be exhaustive treatises. If the former,

especially in mathematical subjects, they will prove unsatisfactory because of their inherent weakness, and if the latter, besides being discouraging to the pupil they destroy the opportunities for original work by him and for original methods in presentation of any part of the subject by the instructor. Recognising these facts, Prof. Hardy has reduced the contents to reasonable limits, yet without being blindly or inconsistently brief, and the result is that he has so presented the subject that it may be quite thoroughly understood in the time usually allotted to it in college courses. He has presented it too, in that clear and concise style which has made him a popular and successful instructor and enabled him to instill into his classes, in marked degree, the habit of independent and accurate analysis and reasoning. He has paid special attention to the preliminary construction of loci, work in which mere mechanical construction by substitution in equation, is too often considered all that is necessary. The polar system he employs to rather more than the usual extent, and in a very acceptable way, for he does not so much duplicate the methods of the rectilinear system, as to offer an alternative which shall prove more desirable for certain classes of work. The exercises given for solution by the pupil are abundant, but not overwhelming in quantity, and exhibit much care in selection. Altogether we consider it a very successful textbook in its line.

Fiction.

A Mere Child, by L. B. WALFORD. New York: Henry Holt & Company.

THERE are few writers more successful within their natural or chosen limits, than Mrs. Walford. If her limits are natural, she is an instance of the advantage of restriction; had her experience or her imagination been wider, she might have done different work: she could not have done what she has done, better, nor so well. *A Mere Child* is one of the pleasantest of her stories. It does not of course come near *The Baby's Grandmother*, for either originality of conception or nicety of finish; but wild little Jerry of Inchmarew, with her boy's love of out-door life, and her great lady's sense of

the grandeur of her position, makes an amusingly life-like and very pretty picture. Nor could anything be truer than the figure of Mrs. Campbell; we must have known Jerry, and this was precisely the grandmother she had. We are sorry to admit that Bellenden, too, was fact. Why so charming a girl should be wasted on so selfish, commonplace, and wholly inferior a man, is a melancholy mystery. It is a mystery which confronts us in all Mrs. Walford's books. She draws us very winning portraits of women: her men—or at least her young men—are uniformly of a low type in character and manners.

Chris, by W. E. NORRIS. New York: Macmillan & Co.

Chris is something the same sort of story with *A Mere Child* as far as level of interest goes. Perhaps Mr. Norris's view is a little the wider, so that he can imagine men of a kind a trifle higher; but on the other hand his heroine's words and ways have not that indescribable touch of reality that makes us know more of Jerry, or of Lady Matilda, than we are ever actually told. It seems as if Mrs. Walford were telling us about her people for the fun of it; Mr. Norris works nicely and conscientiously at the art of presenting his. Yet in plot *Chris* has the advantage; we want to know what happened next, from page to page, and what did happen is decidedly interesting.

The Reverberator, by HENRY JAMES. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

A Counsel of Perfection, by LUCAS MALET. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Just the reverse must be said of the two stories which come next on our list. In *The Reverberator* and in *A Counsel of Perfection* what happened is made painfully, cruelly uninteresting. We are dragged from page to page; the world grows drearier with every line: we are sorry for the miserable beings whose blunders or misfortunes we are compelled to watch, but after all, lifeless as they are, we wonder how they can think themselves of importance enough even to suffer. We are accustomed to bear this sort of thing from the distinguished author of *Daisy Miller*; because we recognise it as his natural mission to photograph a certain lifeless stage of Amer-

ican evolution; but what should induce an English novelist, who might be an artist, to imitate him? Lucas Malet is certainly capable of some better interpretation of the world than the bitterly cynical one which she seems to force herself to make.

Uncle Tom's Tenement, by ALICE WELLINGTON ROLLINS.

Uncle Tom's Tenement is a book which frankly dispenses with literary art. Openly depending for a part of its force on a running comparison of its subject with that of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, it strengthens the device by a choice of names, and of relationships between the characters, which shall recall those in the greater work. The effect is curious, a certain charm appearing at moments as we read, only to be recognised as the charm of a book we are not reading. Yet perhaps for the sake of clearness it was worth while to throw into the form of a story the very practical information and suggestion of which the book consists. There is no artistic deception: we do not feel that Cassie or Andy or Effie, as individuals, ever lived; we only understand by the aid of the figures important facts, and are able to conceive situations, otherwise unimagined. The deteriorating effect of tenement-house life, such as it is in large cities, the helplessness of the very poor against bad men, whether rich, or poor like themselves, the interdependence of all classes of society, Mrs. Rollins makes plain enough. She also deals with more theoretical questions:—whether the rich help the poor best by becoming poor or by remaining rich; whether the poor should be taught contentment or ambition; whether great cities most need cathedrals or model tenement-houses; and her own answer is decided:—Keep your riches, rouse your poorer neighbor to ambition, and build the tenement house before the cathedral. It need not be long before, even if this decision be accepted, for it is said that the income from such tenement-house property is five or six per cent., and no man need be the poorer for investing in it. If this is true, we begin to wonder why small capitalists should not buy shares in tenement-houses, just as now they buy shares in railways and mines. At the worst an unprosperous tenement could not devour more widows and orphans than a bankrupt railway or an exhausted mine will do; and at the best there might be a rapid multiplication of respectable homes in the land.

The New Antigone, a Romance. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

Mr. Andrew Lang has called *The New Antigone* "a Catholic tract." Perhaps Mr. Lang has information that the author is a Roman Catholic, but the book does not make even so much certain. It does not preach that there is no salvation out of Rome; nor even that there is none out of Christianity. At the moment when we are wrought up to the most unquestioning reverence for Hippolyta, we find her smiling in contempt of the priest's pity for her because her unbaptised brother can not be buried in consecrated ground, and at his comforting assurance that all the land of the region is sacred to the Virgin. And from the beginning it is to Ivor that we are made to look for nobility of character, for wise thought, although he is entirely non-Christian in belief and training. It would be quite as easy to maintain that the book is written in the interest of Free-Thought, for the purpose of warning free-thinkers against spurious kinds of freedom, as well as to prove to conservative people that the new world to which the revolutionists look forward will not be a world of license and disorder. But whatever be the polemical object of the book, there is no question that the moral lesson intended is a very admirable one on the true nature and consequent duties of love.

There can be no rational freedom in love or in aught else that belongs to our nature when duty is cast out. It is not a duty to go on pretending to love when affection is dead, but affection which has once taken on itself the yoke of duty will not die; it partakes of the spirit's immortality. Instinct, passion, and true love are not synonymous. . . . The human element which transmutes instinct and passion to love is the will lighted up by reason. Love is spontaneous, but so are very different things.

Ivor is anxious to clear away all institutions that fetter a woman's power of saying no. She must come to a full freedom of choosing, a matter with which custom has most to do, and this can only be effected by a right education of women. But—

When all possible changes have come to pass in the outer world of law and custom, nothing will have been done unless a change has taken place in the inner world of the spirit. . . . Man is a spiritual being—not saved or lost by institutions.

Modern as it is in the questions it debates and the world it describes, this story has a certain antiquity of form and style. It is old-fashioned romance, with heroes and heroines capable of strong and lofty emotion, of exalted thought, of adventurous deed; true knights and ladies with the stately manner of courts yet unforgotten. There is plot, long and complicated; there is incident, striking and picturesque; and withal in the narrator's tone a gravity that at once excites and restrains our interest, keeping it just ardent enough to feel the sentiment of the story, just cool enough to judge it. With the author's judgment of it we do not wholly agree, for Hippolyta's repatriation of the terrible mistake into which her father's wild theories had led her seems to us to have been a new wrong;—but this is a question too serious to enter upon in so brief a notice as the present.

Vaillante—Ce que Femme veut, par JACQUES VINCENT. Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie Française. New York: William R. Jenkins.

"Couronné par l'Académie Française."—A happy inspiration, one can not help adding, in these days of powerful, fascinating, and yet most questionable novels of the realistic school. Many, and perhaps we can justly say nearly all, bearing the impress of the influence of Zola and his followers in their bold delineation of character and scenes once only mentioned in whispers, if at all, and never within the hearing of our children.

It is indeed a hopeful sign when such a fresh, pure book as the present comes forth with the ring of success it is sure to have in the judgment of all true-minded readers—French or English—and bearing as it does the stamp of approval from the great literary center of France.

The scene of the story lies first in France, then in Smyrna. The descriptions and genuine touches of nature, especially in the latter country, are most beautiful. The sketch of a young French peasant girl transported from poverty to wealth—the traces of the influence this great change had upon her character and mental growth, and finally, the real nobility and gratitude of the still simple-hearted girl, is interesting as a study, setting aside the pleasure of following her through her varied experiences as she develops into the talented musician, and

then the star of French musical circles, finally dedicating all to her former benefactor. From a literary standpoint, the story will take a high rank, and in every respect is an admirable specimen of pure French fiction, safe and elevating in tone, and attractive to our novel-reading young people whose minds have not been vitiated by the novels of a vastly different school.

A Kiss for a Blow. By HENRY C. WRIGHT. Boston: Lee & Shepard. A collection of stories for children, designed to inculcate the principles of peace, and the duty of kindness and forbearance. The stories are taken from real incidents and facts. All are well told, and all are appropriately illustrated. No one can read them without being interested and benefited. They should be placed in the hands of the young, and in the formation of good sentiments and habits they will have an appreciable influence. In their earliest years children should learn the duty and the beauty of gentleness and love.

The Flower People. By Mrs. HORACE MANN. Boston: Lee & Shepard. A series of beautiful and instructive stories for children, explaining the character of different familiar flowers and the lessons they teach. It is one of the series of "Classics for Home and School," and is amply illustrated. Very suitable for school libraries, and as a present for the young. It opens with a beautiful "floral dial," and in point of artistic finish the illustrations are really fine.

The Seven Little Sisters who Live on the Round Ball that Floats in the Air. By JANE ANDREWS. Boston: Lee & Shepard. Another of the "Classics for Home and School," containing beautiful stories illustrative of the different types of human beings who inhabit the earth, and the Universal Fatherhood of GOD. The principles are sound, and the method of their illustration is most original and attractive. "An Introduction," by Louisa Parsons Hopkins, gives a memorial sketch of the writer, which is very instructive. The book will be very popular.

Ethel's Year at Ashton. By Mrs. S. E. DAWES. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co. An instructive story illustrative of the

influence of good example. It is admirably suited for the young, especially for girls. There is in it nothing of sensational incident, but the style throughout is attractive, the sentiment is pure, and the design is useful.

History.

The Story of New York. By ELBRIDGE S. BROOK. Boston : D. Lothrop & Co., 1888.

The Story of the City of New York. By CHARLES BURR TODD. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1888.

THESE are two distinct works, although treating very much on the same subject. The first is the initial volume of a series which promises to be of great interest; the second is independent and complete. Both are well written, profusely illustrated, and finely printed; and to thousands of readers, especially among the young, both will be attractive and welcome.

No one can complain of a scarcity of historical works. They abound almost more than any other branch of literature. And we can not wonder at it. No study is more entertaining and instructive than the study of history. It possesses all the fascinating charm of poetry and romance. By the light of historic truth we penetrate the mists which shroud the ancient times; and sitting silently at home, or roaming through the fields, we hold converse with the men who lived and wrote, who toiled and fought when governments were weak, and nations were struggling into life. The publication of recent historical works has given a wonderful impulse to the study of history. In *The Story of the Nations*, published by Messrs. Putnam's Sons, a new feature was introduced; and the success which has attended that project has evidently stimulated the publication of other histories on the same plan. These two volumes are an illustration. One is the *Story of New York City*; the other the *Story of the State of New York*. Both necessarily travel very much over the same ground, portray the same characters, and record the same facts; and both may be regarded as introductory to other stories of States and cities in the Union.

In each volume the interest is well sustained from the be-

ginning to the end. The story goes back to the sixteenth century, and outlines the early discoveries of Verrazano and Hudson; and then in successive order and in graphic form we have narrated the growth and progress of both city and State under the Dutch dynasty, under the English rule, and under a free Republican government. It is a striking and a stirring picture, in which we see the commingling of great principles and strong passions, the founding of noble institutions, and the prosecution of gigantic enterprises, the accumulation of fabulous wealth, and the exercise of a mighty influence for the advancement of civilisation and religion. In neither book is there a dull and uninteresting page. The characters and scenes have been portrayed in living colors; and apart from the amount of information obtained on the rise and development of the greatest city and State in the Union, one chief advantage of the works is that they will stimulate the minds of the young to further reading and research. This will be important. As each man should know himself, according to the old philosophic precept, so each citizen should be familiar with the origin and growth, with the laws and institutions, with the commerce and successes of his own land, whether in its general relations, or in its localised aspects; and we hope that the success of these present volumes will be sufficient to induce the Messrs. Putnam's Sons to bring out other stories of great cities, as they have published the stories of ancient nations; and the Messrs. Lothrop & Co. to prosecute their comprehensive project of issuing the story of each State in the Union. There is ample material; let it be widely used, and works of enduring interest will result.

Ancient History for Colleges and High Schools. By WILLIAM F. ALLEN and P. V. N. MYERS. Boston: Ginn & Co.

There is with some people a tendency to underrate the study of ancient history. They think only of the present, and are forgetful of the fact that for what we now enjoy in government, and institutions, and religion, etc., we are in large measure indebted to the labors, and struggles, and sufferings of those who have gone before. The present indeed throws light upon the past, and by studying the two together we gain a correct idea of the course and design of Providence in the governance of the world, and at every stage of its history may discern

the finger of GOD. It is for this reason specially important that the history of the past should be correctly and graphically narrated, and that both ages and nations should be reproduced in living forms.

A valuable work for students on this subject is *The Ancient History for Colleges and High Schools*, by Messrs. Allen and Myers, recently published by Ginn & Co. It is arranged, as all the school histories issued by this firm have been, in a very convenient form for teaching, and he will be either an incompetent teacher, or will have very dull, stupid scholars, who does not succeed with this his text-book in making clear to and in fixing in the minds of the young all the principal facts which go to make up the old world. The first part consists of "The Eastern Nations and Greece," and the second contains an outline of ancient Rome.

A very excellent introductory chapter supplies a knowledge of the origin of races, and of the early migratory movements of the people; and following this we are gradually led in successive chapters through the histories of Egypt, and Chaldea, and Assyria, and Babylon, and Persia, and Greece, and the Jews and the Latin nations, etc. The story takes in the entire life of the people. It is not only their political but their intellectual, and social, and religious condition that is portrayed. There are many striking contrasts, many vivid pictures, many instructive lessons. The work is well supplied with illustrations and maps, with chronological tables, and with index and vocabulary; and taken as a whole it is an admirable text-book for the private student or use in colleges and schools. The facts, so far as we can judge by comparison, are accurately given, the style is perspicuous, the arrangement is methodical and simple, and the inferences are generally natural and correct.

The Aryan Race. Its Origin and Achievements. By CHARLES MORRIS. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.

Mr. Morris must certainly be congratulated upon having written so important a volume in so abstruse and recondite a field of scientific research, in so easy and attractive a form, and with so constant a preference for narrative over statement and for picturesqueness over mere diffusion and detail. Indeed, had an enquirer asked for a work which would at once

attract and entertain while posting a reader in the latest of anthropomorphic collections as to the crude, prehistoric, and rudimentary civilisation, until the present, the requirement would have been difficult to meet. It is a most thoughtful and admirable *résumé* of the labors of the ethnologist and the anthropologist, and subserves all the uses of a hand-book while adequately enough meeting the uses of an authority and a work of reference. An attempt to tell the story of the race we call Aryan would be an attempt to write the basic history of civilisation. The evolution of human thought, of human institutions, political, social, are exceptionally comparative. Humanity without order, literature, art; without longings and therefore without a philosophy; without ambition, and therefore without reason; without rewards, and therefore without castes, laws, regulations; without language and society, without precedence, and so without parliaments—such would be a condition hard to imagine. But right down at that condition, and at such conditions, was science compelled to burrow in order to evolve that civilisation, that race, and that condition which we call the Aryan, and of which—though no man can say where or when it existed, though no history mentions or hints of them, no tradition, muniment, monument, or record survives—the certitude of science describes to us its descendants. A book which like Mr. Morris's can familiarise the processes of science by which all this has been accomplished, is certainly a most valuable and educational work.

History of Prussia under Frederick the Great—1740-1745.

By HERBERT TUTTLE. Boston, New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The admirable and most conscientious labors of Professor Tuttle in the field of German History, resulting in this volume printed in 1883, *The History of Prussia from the Earliest Times to the Accession of Frederick the Great*, has long enjoyed public appreciation. Its thoroughness of scholarship and sobriety of judgment, its masterly assessments of the comparative importance of event and detail, and its most conservative over-view of the field, is now repeated in a supplemental (or second volume, possibly, of what will be on completion a transcript of German history to our own times,—at least we hope so) *History of*

Prussia under Frederick the Great, 1740-1745. The era justifies a volume by itself, covering the first and second Silesian wars; the development of Frederick's foreign policy; his second campaign down to the evacuation of Bohemia, the peace of Breslau, the union of Frankfort, and the quasi-diplomatic negotiations between the monarch and Voltaire.

Professor Tuttle's work has heretofore received our extended review, and we can only add that it will undoubtedly take a first rank among the standard histories, such as Bancroft's United States, and the capital histories of the late Mr. Green.

Poetry.

The Unseen King and Other Verses. By CAROLINE LESLIE FIELD. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

A small volume of poetry in paper covers, and beautifully gotten up. The subjects are numerous and attractive, and both the sentiments and the versification are of a high order. It is not common rhyming, remarkable only for a jingling sound. There is much original thought, clothed with appropriate imagery, and expressed in simple yet elegant phraseology. The first and longest of all the poems, "The Unseen King," is a veritable poetic gem. But all the verses are good; and we thank the author for them.

Philosophy.

History of Modern Philosophy. Descartes and His School. By KUNO FISCHER. Translated from the third German edition by J. P. GORDY, Ph.D., and edited by NOAH PORTER, D.D., LL.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

IN the words of Dr. Porter, "among the many histories of philosophy for which we are indebted to modern research, the *History of Modern Philosophy*, by Professor Kuno Fischer, of Heidelberg, is conspicuous for the courage with which the author grapples with the difficulties of his task, and the success with which he overcomes them." The present is but an installment of a larger work. It was the author's plan to trace

the progress and development of philosophy from the time of Descartes in the seventeenth century down to Kant, and Fichte, and Schelling, and Hegel, and others in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The scheme is comprehensive, and if completed as it has been begun, Professor Fischer will make a most valuable contribution to the history of philosophy. He is doubtless eminently qualified for the task. With an intimate knowledge of philosophic systems and principles, he combines wonderful analytical and synthetical power, and at the same time is popular in definitions and narrations, being neither technical nor abstract beyond the necessities imposed by his theme. The result is that while he may not be removed from criticism or controversy in respect to the interpretation he gives to the writers and schools he encounters, he is uniformly clear, spirited, and exhaustive, and, as is confessed by competent critics, whether friendly or otherwise, his history is more readable than any other, and is eminently attractive and exciting to the general student. The work has so far been completed in two volumes, to the end of Schelling's system and life. His treatment of the Hegelian philosophy is awaited with more than ordinary interest by both the disciples and antagonists of Hegel and his critics. In the mean while it has been thought wise to give a translation of the first part to English readers. This is the more permissible, because, as Dr. Porter says, "the history of the school of Descartes, in many senses, and especially as treated by our author, stands by itself, and holds closer relations to all the forms of modern speculation than is commonly supposed."

The present volume, therefore, is the first of the three, and is devoted to Descartes and his school. It will be acceptable to philosophical readers in general; for whether or not we subscribe to all the tenets of the Cartesian philosophy, or accept all the criticisms of Professor Fischer, we are bound to admit that the work has been written with signal ability, and that the principles and writings of Descartes have had a very appreciable influence in the process of intellectual development, and in the establishment of a true philosophy and faith.

A very valuable introduction precedes the discussion of Descartes. In this the author has surveyed the whole field of philosophy from the beginnings of the Greek schools down to the Renaissance and the Reformation, and the course of devel-

opment in modern philosophy. The philosophy of the modern sustains, our author thinks, a very definite relation to the philosophy of the ancient times; and in tracing this relation and dependence there are furnished very exact definitions of words and phrases, and very luminous expositions of principles and systems. With great nicety the distinction is pointed out between history and philosophy; and with surprising clearness and fullness we see the development and influence of the Grecian philosophy from its beginning in about the sixth century before CHRIST to its decadence in the sixth century of the Christian era. The influence of philosophy on Christianity and the Church is equally marked; and following this are profound and scholarly dissertations on the philosophy of the Middle Ages, of the Renaissance, and of the Reformation. In these discussions the limitations and powers of the mind are defined, the origin and growth of ideas, the development of principles, the formation of systems, the antagonism of schools, the influence of governments and the Church, etc., are all minutely portrayed. The result is a clearer and firmer conviction that all true philosophy must be based upon Christian principles, and that without a knowledge of and faith in GOD,—in other words, without a supernatural light and guidance—it is impossible to obtain a perfect development of our nature, much less to fulfill adequately our mission.

The second part of the volume, and by far the larger part, is that which treats of Descartes and his philosophy. This is divided into three books. In the first there is a narrative of Descartes's life and writings; in the second a consideration of his doctrine; and in the third a development and modification of this doctrine, according to new light and methods. The personal sketch is highly instructive, as portraying the vicissitudes of a somewhat checkered and romantic life, and the gradual formation and development of the intellectual processes through which his mind attained its brilliancy and power, and his theories were formulated and matured. The principle of the Cartesian philosophy was the certainty and universal supremacy of matter. From the known and tangible he reasons to the unknown or the knowable; and by inductive methods and in algebraical or geometrical forms, he tries to find out the origin of thought, and the primal cause of being. In one sense he was more of a physicist than a psychologist, and his psycho-

logical theories are based principally upon scientific theorems, and a strictly mathematical or logical process of induction or proof.

It was in a very gradual and tentative way that Descartes arrived at his conclusions, and formulated his theories; and patient research in his *Method*, and *Meditations*, and *Geometry*, etc., is needed to follow the workings of his mind, to comprehend his principles and rules, and to appreciate the force of the reasons by which they are illustrated and proved. But the results will repay the effort; and as an intellectual exercise, and as forming a connective link between the philosophy of the old and the philosophy of the modern world, every scholar or philosophical student should become familiar with these immortal works. It is little to say that in them may be found the germ of materialism, or of pantheism, or that Locke in his essay on the Human Understanding effectually exploded the doctrine of "innate ideas" as applied to the origin of thought in man, or the fact of existence in GOD. What is of more importance is that the Cartesian philosophy recognises throughout certain physical or mental phenomena, and therefore deduces or infers certain other facts concerning an interior and independent being, and a subsequent and immortal life; and that though it may not lead up to a demonstration of either the existence of GOD or the immortality of the soul, yet it predicates the possibility, not to say the necessity, of both. In this it is distinct from the pantheism of Spinoza and the atheism of Hobbes, and will, after all, be found to have much in common with, if not as laying the foundation of, the more rational metaphysical theories of Locke, and Stewart, and Reid, and Hamilton, rather than the skepticism of Liebnitz, and Kant, and Hegel, and others. There is an element of uncertainty about it which is as much objective as subjective, which appeals equally to the physical sense and to the logical consciousness, and which, as expressed in the well-known formula, *Cogito, ergo sum*, becomes the basis of universal testimony and of mathematical demonstration. The analysis given by Professor Fischer of the writings and principles of Descartes is most intelligent and discriminating; and it will be cause for profound regret if the author should not finish his work, or if, having finished it in German, we should not be favored with an English translation of it. The first volume whets the ap-

petite, and creates a thirst for more. We hope the desire will be gratified, and that soon.

- I. *Psychology. The Cognitive Powers.* By Rev. JAMES McCOSH, D.D., LL.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- II. *Realistic Philosophy*, defended in a Philosophic Series. By Rev. JAMES McCOSH, D.D., LL.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Two Volumes. Volume I., Expository; Volume II., Historical and Critical.

The above imperfect sketch of the beginning of a really great work may be appropriately supplemented by the recommendation of two very valuable elementary treatises on the same subject. Both are written by the venerable Dr. McCosh, so long and so favorably known as the President of Princeton College, and as one of the profoundest metaphysicians of the day; and both contain expositions, principles, arguments, illustrations, facts, which render them highly instructive and profitable. There is need of a safeguard and a guide amidst the bewildering mass of philosophical speculation and doubt with which the age is unhappily afflicted; and in the person and teaching of Dr. McCosh we find both. There is no part of the vast region of philosophical research he has not explored. His knowledge, therefore, is equal to the demand; and his principles are sound as his perceptions are clear. Dr. McCosh is a theologian as well as a philosopher; and believing that faith is based upon reason, and that revelation is illustrated by science, he interprets metaphysical problems in the light and by the aid of scriptural principles and facts. This is a consideration of inestimable value for a philosophical teacher; and this one fact adds interest to the discussions which are conducted in these volumes.

It may be supposed that Dr. McCosh has here summed up the teachings of his life, and furnished the mature conclusions of careful investigation and ripe experience. This, indeed, is intimated by himself in the first volume, *The Cognitive Powers*. The volume, he says, is the result of thirty-four years' teaching of Psychology, during which he has been constantly improving and advancing with the times. Such a fact gives weight to the opinions which are advanced; and in his own words, his aim has been to show that an honest and careful study of the human mind in an inductive manner undermines

the prevailing philosophic errors of this age ; saves us from Idealism, on the one hand, and Agnosticism, on the other ; and conducts us to Realism, which in a rude state was the first philosophy, and when its excrescences are lopped off will be the last. The *Cognitive Powers* is, therefore, a fit introduction to the *Realistic Philosophy*. They should be read together ; and in their connected form they furnish the outlines of a complete system.

In the first volume Psychology is defined, and the method of investigation pointed out. The various powers of the mind, their relation to each other, the laws which govern them, the nature and effect of their operation, and the conclusions and influences of the whole, are then explained with great precision and force. We thus find a broad and firm foundation on which a philosophic system should be based. In this system there must be a recognition of human liberty, and power, and responsibility ; an acknowledgment of a divine, supreme, and infinite Intelligence and Power and Will, by which the human is controlled, and to which it must be answerable ; and a full perception and use of external phenomena, no less than of an inner consciousness or light, by and through the medium of which the finite can reason up to and come into direct communion with the Infinite. Thus the cognitive powers of man assure him of his own independent existence, and of other material substances, and in like manner enable him to deduce principles which affect the Unseen and Unknown ; and thus the ground is prepared for that realistic philosophy which the doctor says was the first, and will be the last. Such a philosophy he hopes will be characteristic of America as contra-distinguished from the philosophy of the ancient Greeks and modern Germans, for example, and as opposed equally to Idealism and Agnosticism.

In the first of the two volumes which bear on this part of his theme Dr. McCosh explains what Realism is, as the knowledge of things which really exist, with the inferences deducible from them, and how the power to know in all its manifold forms is and may be applied. The exposition is luminous and complete ; and with this in his hand the student can enter intelligently on the historical and critical dissertations which fill the second volume, and which display at once the metaphysical acumen and Christian faith of the author. In the

General Introduction the position of Realism in the various philosophies is defined. It is a wonderfully comprehensive and instructive chapter. Beginning with the old Greek philosophy he explains the peculiarities of the different sects or schools, and so gradually traces down the history through the mediæval times to the Renaissance and the Reformation, and onward to the writings of Kant and Hegel in Germany, and John Stewart Mill and Herbert Spencer in England. An avowed or latent Realism, he thinks, runs through them all. But in most cases it is in a raw and undigested form, with excrescences on the one hand and deficiencies on the other. In a discriminating way he has aimed to show how the one may be cast off, and the other supplied, and thus to lay the basis of a realistic philosophy. After this introduction the author proceeds with a critical examination of the theories of Locke and Berkeley, and subsequently of Hume and Huxley, of Reid and the Scottish school, and finally of Mill and Spencer. The analysis in each case is dispassionate and minute, and the conclusion of the whole is that it is "wisdom to rest on the old foundations." In this we heartily concur; and with a feeling of admiration for and a sense of obligation to Dr. McCosh, we honestly commend these latest productions of his pen—these deliberate utterances of his mind.

Political Economy.

Protection or Free Trade. An Examination of the Tariff Question with especial regard to the Interests of Labor. By HENRY GEORGE. New York: Henry George & Co.

THE subject of this volume has been pretty thoroughly canvassed in America during the last year. It formed the principal issue in the late Presidential election; and alike in public meetings, and through the daily, weekly, and monthly press it was sifted to the bottom. All that could be said on either side was apparently advanced; and so far as the verdict at the polls was concerned it was in favor of a high protective tariff. It yet remains to be seen whether the experience and history of the people during the next few years will justify this decision, and whether or not some modifications of our fiscal and commercial arrangements may not be rendered ne-

cessary in the interests of the laboring portions of the community and on sound principles of political economy.

There can be no question that as at present existing many of our tariff regulations appear to be unequal and unfair; and in proportion as they bear oppressively on any part of the people, and tend either to the restriction of trade, or to the enrichment of one class at the expense of another, they ought to be abrogated or modified. The products of a country should undoubtedly in a measure be protected for the benefit of that country. By its own industry and enterprise every nation should seek to become rich. Nor should its trade and revenue be interfered with by the indiscriminate admission of foreign goods. But, on the other hand, it is or should be remembered that there is a community of interests throughout the world, and that it is not just to the people of one nation to shut them out from the productions of another, or to deprive them of the healthy and stimulating influence of foreign competition. The law of humanity may justify or require a universal freedom in commercial relation, as there is a principle of universal brotherhood; and that is unquestionably the truest method which most largely and effectually encourages trade, and reduces expense, and promotes comfort. We are yet far from having reached a perfect ideal in commercial relations. No system is abstractedly, much less practically, perfect. All nations have much to learn, and much to do, before the Utopia of Sir Thomas More is realised; and thoughtful discussion of this subject may aid in the rectification of inequalities and wrongs, and in preparation for a more equitable and advantageous state of affairs.

For this reason we welcome the publication of Mr. George, and similar dissertations. They may fail to touch all the issues involved, and to arrive at any very definite and satisfactory conclusions; yet they suggest principles and thoughts which are worthy of attention, and they employ arguments and illustrations which may stimulate inquiry and enterprise. Mr. Henry George writes as an avowed free trader; and his aim is, as he says, to secure that full application of the free-trade principle which will secure both the largest production and the fairest distribution of wealth. In promoting his design he sought to carry the inquiry beyond the point where Adam Smith and the economic writers of his school left it, and to

raise the whole free-trade question from the emasculated form in which it has been taught by the English economists, to the fullness of which it was held by the predecessors of Adam Smith. This simply means that he would have absolute free-trade in and between all nations, each one recognising the human and political rights of the other, and each class trying to advance the interests of the other, as members of a divine family or a universal brotherhood.

The principle, it must be admitted, is abstractedly or theoretically sound, and partakes of the essence of the fact so broadly stated by S. Paul when he says that "GOD hath made of one blood all the nations of men, for to dwell on the face of the earth"; and if the principle can be but universally recognised and acted upon, the golden age of the poets, or the millennium of Scripture, would soon dawn. But there is much preparatory work to be done in the way of education and legislation, in counteracting prejudice, in breaking down class-distinctions, in securing freedom, and sympathy, and confidence, and, in one word, in carrying out practically in our national as well as our personal relations the grand old rule of doing unto others as we would that others should do unto us. This is substantially the principle of Mr. George's book; and whilst we dissent from some of his arguments, and conclusions, and facts, we readily admit that there is in it an educative power, and that for this reason it should be read.

Science.

Introduction to Physical Science. By A. P. GAGE, Ph.D.
Boston: Ginn & Co.

IT is one of the characteristics and advantages of modern training that special attention is devoted to the study of Natural History and Physical Science. These are subjects which more immediately concern many of the business relations and duties of life than a knowledge of the "dead languages," or of classical literature, however important that may be. With the growing popularity of these studies has been the preparation of a number of elementary text-books. Some of these have been too advanced for young students, and others have not been attractively or wisely arranged. It

is a pleasure, therefore, to meet with one which seems well-fitted for the use of both teacher and scholar.

Such is the introduction to Physical Science, prepared by Professor Gage. The author is an experienced and accomplished teacher, and in writing for the guidance of others he has drawn largely on records and results of his own experience and teaching. His method is largely an inductive one. The principles and facts are first explained, and then these are practically tested and realised by a series of experiments in the laboratory. In this way the minds of the young are gradually familiarised with the essential principles of the science, and process of investigation and experiment is made attractive and pleasant by the evidence of the senses. On this principle the present work is written. It treats of all the varied subjects which are commonly included in physical science, and it does it in a simple, explanatory way which all may readily understand. The work is, therefore, of great practical value.

Introduction to Chemical Science. By R. P. WILLIAMS, A.M. Boston: Ginn & Co. Another of the very useful school manuals published by this firm. It has been prepared with a view of its being adopted as a text-book in Chemistry for the average High School. And it is well suited for this, being simple, practical, experimental, and inductive, rather than a cyclopedia of chemical information. The subjects are well arranged; the definitions are precisely given, and the directions and tests for experimenting, etc., are very simple and full. With the judicious use of this Introduction a very fair knowledge of chemical science may be acquired; and alike for teacher and scholar it will be found invaluable.

Three Kingdoms, a Hand-book of the Agassiz Association. By HARLAN H. BALLARD. New York: The Writers' Publishing Co. The official manual of the Agassiz Association. The object of this association is to promote the systematic study of natural objects. Since its formation a few years ago the association has rapidly grown, until it now numbers nearly fifteen thousand members. These are persons of all classes and ages who enjoy the systematic study of elementary botany, entomology, geology, anatomy, physiology, etc., conducted under the leadership of competent teachers. Such an association must be productive of immense advantage. The

present volume shows in part what is being done, and aids in doing it.

Theology.

Christian Socialism. By Rev. M. KAUFMANN, M.A. London : Kegan Paul, French & Co.

IT is very important that the Church should thoroughly comprehend the principles which underlie the great Socialistic movements of the age. No one can be blind to the fact that for years past, agitations have been carried on in this and other lands the direct tendency of which is, to undermine the foundations of social order and national security, and to revolutionise the governments and institutions of Christian lands. As little, however, is it to be denied that many of these movements originate in principles and assumptions which are true to nature and to history, and which have been simply misunderstood or perverted in and by the revolting systems of Nihilism, and Communism, and Socialism, as they have of late been developed in Europe and America. It is incumbent, therefore, upon the Church as the teacher and safeguard of society to expound and enforce these principles, and to counteract the influence of the pernicious systems by which they have been distorted, not so much by legislative enactment and penal infliction as by sound teaching and a judicious example.

A valuable aid and incentive in this direction is supplied by a work now before us, entitled *Christian Socialism*. It is thoughtful and intelligent, presenting fairly the essential features of the different schemes which have been started in the name and on behalf of the people, examining these schemes in the light of reason, history, and religion, and insisting strongly upon the duty of the Church to point out, and lead in a more excellent way, and upon the power and adaptation of Christianity as the great remedial scheme for the social and moral disorders of the world. The book is essentially Christian in principle, sound in logic, and earnest in spirit, and as such it is to be commended as an antidote to much of the unchristian literature of the day, and as a powerful appeal to the Church to do its duty in a time of excitement and danger.

It is not to be questioned that a principle of social relationship, that a bond of universal brotherhood, prevails throughout

the world. Not only the statement of Scripture, but the deductions of reason and the facts of history suggest or prove that GOD hath made of one blood all the nations of men. As inheritors of a common nature all classes have common interests and wants. There is among them a natural relation or dependence. Each one owes a duty to the other. In the neglect of this there is injustice or wrong, and from this spring innumerable social evils and distresses. It can not be pretended that on either side there has been a due regard to natural and established rights, and claims, and interests. If not in nature, there has been too obvious an inequality in position. The rich have trampled on the poor; the poor have been spiteful against the rich. Hence the bitter alienation between the two; hence the public disquietude and misery, hence the need of social and moral reform; and hence the paramount duty of the Church. There is a socialism which is true to nature and to Christianity. In the diffusion of that social inequalities will be rectified, mutual confidence and love will be engendered, and public order and peace will be secured. In a very large degree the Church has the matter in its own hand, and no time should be lost in showing the world more clearly that Christianity is the remedial system human nature needs, and that in the bosom of the Church the people of all grades and classes may find a resting-place and home. These principles and facts are elaborated and enforced by Mr. Kaufmann in his *Christian Socialism* with much learning and power; and believing that the study of the subject as here presented will have a good effect, we earnestly commend the volume to the careful perusal of the clergy, and all others who are interested in the discussion of the social problems of the age.

The Faith of the Gospel. A Manual of Christian Doctrine.
By ARTHUR J. MASON, B.A. New York: E. P. Dutton
& Co.

The fundamental condition of salvation is faith, for without faith it is impossible to please GOD, and again the Great Teacher himself hath said, "He that believeth not shall be damned." In its ordinary and special import faith is belief and trust; thus we receive as true the duly accredited facts of history; and thus we rely upon or trust in the skill of a person or the efficacy of a thing for the attainment of a promised and

particular benefit or result. It is of prime importance, then, that we understand the subjects as well as the nature and object of faith. These are clearly revealed in Holy Scripture, and dogmatically enjoined by the Church. We find them crystallised in the Articles and Creeds; and without wilful perversity or neglect there can be no misunderstanding or ignorance of the things which are necessary to salvation. Yet the Catholic Faith is often assailed through prejudice, or misrepresented by the pride of foolish men. It becomes necessary, therefore, to explain and defend the "Faith once delivered to the saints;" and those who are "set for the defense of the Gospel" must see to it that error is properly rebuked, and that a correct knowledge of the Faith is possessed by all, or available to all.

In this conviction and desire originated the lectures which are here published under the general title of *The Faith of the Gospel*. They form the substance of a series of lectures or instructions given by the author in conducting Mission services in different parts of England. In their oral form they have been useful; and the same useful influence it is thought may attend them in a published volume. The subjects embraced are "The Being and Nature of GOD," "The Blessed Trinity," "Creation through the Word," "Man and his Fall," "The Incarnation of the Word of GOD," "The Atoning Work of CHRIST," "The Risen LORD and the Gift of the Spirit," "The Characteristics of the Church," "The Means of Grace," "The Process of Salvation," "The Last Things." These topics embrace the cardinal truths of our holy religion. There can be no doubt that they are taught in the Scriptures or that they are enforced by the Church; and in the knowledge and belief of these man will be made wise unto salvation. In this volume these fundamental doctrines are explained and defended, and from the explanations given, and the quotations made, it is easily seen that there is entire harmony between the Bible and the Church. The volume is not dogmatic or controversial; it does not pretend to be very learned or original. It is a plain, forcible explanation and enforcement of the Catholic Faith as embodied in the Creeds, and taught by the Church; and in this age of latitudinarian theology and philosophical doubt it is of special value as a protest and a guide.

CHRIST or Ecclesiastes. By the Rev. H. S. HOLLAND, M.A.
London: Rivingtons.

A series of five sermons preached in S. Paul's Cathedral, London, their object being to show that there is need for a supernatural influence or manifestation, and that in the CHRIST of the Holy Gospels this need is amply met. The doctrine of the sermons is purely orthodox; their style is graphic; their appeals are earnest. They will do much to promote a healthy tone of thought, and will add to the well-earned reputation of the author as a pulpit orator.

I Am That I Am. By E. A. WARRINER. Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co.

A metrical essay in three parts and nine cantos, designed to explain and illustrate the philosophic basis of the Christian Faith. Part I. presents the idea of the Infinite; Part II. the idea of GOD; and Part III. the elements of Personality. The fundamental principle is in accordance with the facts of natural theology and revealed religion. There is an assumption of the Divine existence and of the Trinity in unity; and the work is to show that these are in harmony with the strictest principles and facts of reason and philosophy. In this effort the author has succeeded in a remarkable degree. Both his philosophy and logic are sound; whilst his poetry, with all the abstrusiveness necessarily thrown around it, is of more than ordinary merit. By those who can enter into the metaphysical subtlety of the thing the argument will be appreciated; but for common readers it will present little attraction. A more simple and less pretentious treatise would be preferable.

The Anointed Seraph. By G. H. POLLOCK. Washington:
John F. Sheiry.

A singular and symbolic little book, containing a large amount of information, and a good deal of curious and original suggestion and interpretation. The design appears to be that all things originate in GOD, as the Supreme Creator, and that all things return to GOD, through CHRIST the great Redeemer. It is a correct idea, and worthy of expansion and enforcement. But there is little utility in this method of illustration. Many of the thoughts are original; many of the coincidences are

striking. Something more simple, however, might be found much more useful.

Miscellaneous.

Handbook of Dates. Compiled by HENRY CLINTON BROWN, New York: A. Lovell & Co.

A very useful book, especially for students, suitably introduced by the Rev. W. Wilberforce Newton. It is divided into three parts—from the Creation to the birth of CHRIST: from the latter event to the present time: and an alphabetical index. In each department all the leading events are enumerated, and the precise dates given of their occurrence. The work is thus extremely valuable for reference. It has involved an immense amount of work on the part of the compiler; it will save an immense amount of work for the reader. With Mr. Newton we heartily commend it as supplying a want.

The School Album. Chicago: S. R. Winchell & Co. A collection of new and beautiful songs for public and private schools. Music by H. W. FAIRBANK; words by MINNIE B. LOWRY. Both words and music are appropriate and attractive, and will be appreciated by teachers and scholars. It is divided into two parts, adapted to the primary and the advanced departments. Such exercises as are here provided will aid the work of teaching.

Robert Raikes, or the Story of the Sunday School. By the Rev. T. S. CARTWRIGHT, M. A. New York: W. Egerton & Co.

This is the most interesting and valuable monograph on the Sunday School that has ever been written. The wonder is that so much history, statistics, general information, and practical advice could be brought within such narrow limits. It is alike valuable to the clergyman, Sunday School teacher, and scholar. From fifty to several hundred copies could be distributed in every parish in the Church with great profit to their respective Sunday Schools.

In some 70 pages the author deals with the origin of the Sunday School, the life and character of Robert Raikes, the

need of Sunday School work in the Church, the progress it has made, and its place in the organised work of the Church. Then he answers the question as to whether the Sunday School has been a failure, and what the relations ought to be between the Church and the School, what improvements can be made in the methods employed, and closes with an appeal for the Sunday School that must carry conviction to the heart of every devout and earnest Churchman.

The historical and statistical part of the work give it a permanent value in the literature of the Church.

King's Handbook of Notable Episcopal Churches. By the Rev. GEORGE WOLFE SHINN, D.D. With one hundred illustrations. Boston: Moses King Corporation.

The idea of writing up the history of some of the notable parish churches in the United States was a good one. It doubtless involved more labor than the editor planned for in the beginning of the enterprise. But it has not suffered on that account. Dr. Shinn is a painstaking toiler with the pen, in whatever he undertakes, and he has produced a work here which we are sure any Churchman would not regret having paid five dollars for, while the cost is only one. He has collected a vast deal of historical matter not to be found elsewhere. It will, we are sure, be a very great pleasure to any one, after reading in some Church newspaper an account of work done in some historic parish, to be able to turn to this volume and not only see in a picture before him the simple or grand old church, but read its history through the years gone by.

We have in this volume many of the old Colonial buildings antedating the American Revolution. Others representing the growth of the Church in the early part of the century, and later the parish churches in great centers, erected and "designed to meet the new conditions of American life." And again an illustration of the efforts made or making toward the cathedral system.

The illustrations are nearly all highly creditably to the undertaking, and we must congratulate Dr. Shinn and the publishers on the completion of a very interesting work. It will cheer one up to turn over its pages and see "What GOD hath wrought" in this Western world.

Prang's Easter Cards, Novelties, Satin Art Prints, Booklets and Books of 1889.

Again the Easter Season, with its atmosphere of Spring and Resurrection, is approaching, and the yearly demand for appropriate messages of Gladness and Joy has to be met by the issue of new designs and, if possible, such of greater beauty than before.

Flowers, landscapes and lovely children are the principal motifs for the designs, and lofty and appropriate sentiments accompany them.

Among the novelties are *Art Tiles* of rare pattern, in imitation of plastic tiles, hand-modeled, made of durable material, and *Ivory Mounts*, also hand-modeled in exact imitation of old carved ivory. Both imitations are excellent, and the designs highly artistic. *Hand-painted Mounts* are largely represented in the line.

The *Satin Art Prints* are daintier and more delicate than ever before, and good taste is displayed in the various forms in which they are issued, such as book-marks, sachets, bags, portfolios, mouchoir cases, cushions, banners, as well as on handsome hand-decorated mounts and imitation *Ivory Mounts*. One set of designs has been printed on rich, soft faille silk, instead of satin, with a very happy result.

A large line of *Easter Booklets*, most of them in hand-decorated covers, are brought out under appropriate titles and filled with the best Easter poetry.

The *Art Books* issued for Easter are, besides *The Lord is Risen* and *Come Sunshine, Come*, which met with such large sale last year, and are therefore retained, the following:

Easter Spires. A very dainty little gem, containing a poem by Mrs. Annie D. Darling, with five charming full-page photo-gravures by L. K. Harlow, in illuminated cover.

A Garland of Songs. Words and designs by Lisbeth B. Comins. Music adapted from works of well-known composers. Fifteen full-page monotint illustrations. In elegant cover, printed in colors and gold.

Not to Myself Alone. A poem. Six full-page etchings by L. K. Harlow. Vignettes in pen-drawing by F. Schuyler Mathews. In hand-decorated cover of artistic design.

ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER

FOR

JANUARY, FEBRUARY AND MARCH

1889

Brief Items.

AT a meeting of the Board of Missions, the committee were authorised to buy the house of Gen. Howard, in Washington, D. C., next to Howard University, to be used as a training-school for colored candidates for Holy Orders.

AN interesting discovery in connection with Canterbury Cathedral has just been made. In the year 1827 there were two large portraits above the Warriors' Chapel. One was that of S. Gregory, the other that of S. Augustine. They suddenly disappeared, and they were supposed to have been stolen. Strange to say, they have just come to light again. From a communication made by the Countess of Guildford to Mr. H. G. Austin, that gentleman visited Eythorne, and there recognised the pictures. They had been stored away in Eythorne church, covered with straw, no doubt being considered practically useless. They have just been handed over to the cathedral authorities by the Rector of Eythorne.

A manuscript copy of the Gospels, for which the price of £5,000 has been refused, and the proper place for which is certainly within the shadow of York Minster, is about to come under the hammer in London. It is the splendid "Evangelarium," written in letters of gold on purple vellum, which was produced by an Anglo-Saxon scribe for Archbishop Wilfrid of York about the year 670. According to one account, this most interesting volume was presented to King Henry VIII by Pope Leo X on the occasion of conferring the title of "Defender of the Faith"; and even the German professor Wattenbach, while disputing the accuracy of this story, agrees that the gift was made to the see of York by Cardinal Wolsey, King Henry's trusted chancellor, and Archbishop of York for the time being.

THE CHURCH AND EMIGRATION.—Through the action of the Emigration Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, a clergyman now leaves Liverpool every week

in one of the ships bound for Canada in charge of emigrants. The first party left last Thursday in the Allan steamer *Parisian*, the clergyman in charge being the Rev. T. Edwards, Vicar of Llanfihangel-y-Pennant, and Diocesan Inspector of Schools in the Bangor Diocese. There were altogether about 900 passengers. The presence of an earnest energetic chaplain on a vessel carrying emigrants has been found to be most helpful to those who were about to make a new home in a new land. Services, Bible classes, temperance meetings, etc., can be held daily. As there is no occupation for the emigrant during the voyage, he gladly avails himself of these opportunities, and is often led to think about religious matters, being very open to receive good impressions at a time like this. The arrangements for clergymen to act as chaplains are made by the organising secretary of the Society, the Rev. J. Bridger, S. Nicholas' Vestry, Liverpool.

To meet the requirements of the Church in West Africa, and, as much as possible to relieve the Bishop of Sierra Leone, the Archbishop of Canterbury has consented to consecrate a clergyman as a bishop for work in the Yoruba country, West Africa. The permanent residence of the new bishop will be at Lagos. At first it was thought that it would be best that a native African clergyman should be appointed to the bishopric, but it has now been decided that a European shall be the first occupant of the See.

ON Wednesday, March 27, at the vesper service in S. Paul's Church, Louisiana, there was held a special service for the setting apart to a missionary life in Japan of Miss Georgina Suthon. There were present in the chancel, the Bishop, the rector, and the Rev. Dr. Snively. Both the Bishop and the Rev. Mr. Waters gave short addresses on the character of the work undertaken by Miss Suthon. She left Thursday, the 28, for San Francisco, where she is to be joined by Miss Heath from Covington, Ky., and whence they will take the first steamer for Yokohama, Japan.

THE fourth Deaconess of the Diocese was ordered by Bishop Coxé in Buffalo on the Feast of the Conversion of S. Paul. The service was held in Trinity chapel according to the form prescribed by the bishop and used in setting apart the last deaconess ordered by him in S. Luke's church, Rochester. The candidate was Miss Caroline M. Cochran, who was presented by the Rev. Dr. Francis Lobdell. Much interest was shown in the occasion, as it was the first time the "office" had been used in Buffalo. Sisters Louise and Mary were received from the Diocese of Long Island and have been in charge for many years of the Buffalo Church Home. Sister Harriet resides in Lockport and Sister Frances is engaged in parochial

work in S. Luke's, Rochester. The newly ordered Deaconess will work in the Buffalo Church Home, where she has been for two and a half years the devoted assistant of the deaconesses in charge.

LATELY a copy of the Mazarin Bible—that rarest of all printed books—was discovered in the Earl of Hopetown's library, and on being brought to the hammer last week it realized £2,000. This Bible, dated 1450–55, was the first edition of the Bible, and the earliest book printed with movable metal types by the inventors of printing. It is ornamented with two borders and many initial letters, illuminated in gold and colors, printed on thick paper in double columns without title or pagination. In this first issue the headings of S. Jerome's Preface and of Genesis are printed in red letters, and the rest written in red ink, but those of the second issue are all written. Within a few years have been sold no less than four copies of this splendid specimen of the art of printing at its birth, since which, as an art, it has not been surpassed by any modern achievements. The finest of these Gutenberg Bibles was that sold in 1873 in the Perkins sale for £2,690, when it passed into the library of the late Mr. Henry Huth. Then comes the fine copy which was sold in the Syston Pack sale of Sir John Thorold's library in December, 1884, for £3,900. After this, in June, 1887, came the other fine copy sold in Lord Crawford's library sale for £2,650. A *Balbi de Janua Catholicon*, Gutenberg, Mainz, 1460, the fourth book with a date, went to Mr. Ridge for £145.

THE parish church of Barlaston, Staffordshire, was re-opened on the 8 instant, after an extensive alteration, when the chancel was consecrated by the Bishop of Lichfield, and dedicated to the memory of Dr. J. H. Blunt, formerly Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, who was buried in the churchyard of that parish. The bishop preached on the occasion, and made an appropriate reference to the late Professor.

THE Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, at its monthly meeting devoted the sum of £5,000 to making provision for the instruction and training of various classes of lay-workers, such as evangelists, lecturers, lay-readers, Sunday-school teachers, and district visitors, whether voluntary or paid, so that they may be able to give more efficient assistance to the parochial clergy in their efforts to bring the Gospel to bear upon the masses of the population, especially in the large towns. The society's plan is to make a commencement with a house in East London, to be in charge of a warden and sub-warden, at which both resident and non-resident students will

be received. The charge for resident students will be fixed at as low a rate as will cover the actual cost, so as to put the benefits of the institution within the reach of as large a number as possible. To make the proposed institution still more useful, the society will offer a limited number of free studentships. Besides the work carried on at the house itself, it is intended that classes of lay-workers should be organised at other centres, and arrangements made for their instruction and training. The Bishop of Bedford has, by desire of the society, undertaken the management of the institution as president, with the assistance of a council.

BISHOP WILLIAMS of Connecticut is in receipt of a letter from England, addressed to him as Presiding Bishop, informing him that the Corporation of the Church House, London, are now ready to begin the work of collecting documents in connection with the work of the Church throughout the world. All books, pamphlets, etc., bearing upon the formation of dioceses or special work will be considered of value and duly kept of record in the Church House. The Rev. Samuel Hart, D. D., of Trinity College, Hartford, has been selected by the Bishop to assist him in the collection of documents. Dr. Hart is anxious to secure Diocesan journals for 1831, 1832, and 1837, in order to complete a set of journals for transmission to England.

THE episcopate of New Zealand contemplates taking steps to effect the erection of the Fiji Islands into a bishopric which will be annexed to their province. This colony continues under the nominal charge of the Bishop of London, though a Fiji Bishopric Endowment Fund was started a considerable time ago by the Hon. Mr. Campbell, of New South Wales. The population consists of aborigines, 110,000; Europeans, 2,200; besides a number of mixed origin. At present there are two clergy engaged in missionary work in addition to the "chaplain" at Levuka.

THE Gallaudet Home for Deaf-Mutes, on the Hudson River, near Poughkeepsie, now cares for twelve female and ten male aged and infirm deaf-mutes. Most of them are communicants. The Holy Communion is celebrated monthly in the well-appointed chapel. One of the men, educated in the New York Institution for Deaf-Mutes, has recently become blind, being upward of forty years old. He manifests a genuine Christian spirit in his terrible affliction. On Sunday afternoons he gathers a Bible-class around him and gives instruction to those who can see his signs. He spells from memory, using the single-handed alphabet, many texts of Scripture. He is making various articles and ornaments with which to

celebrate the centennial of Washington's inauguration as president, on April 30. These silent brethren constitute a family of GOD'S afflicted ones.

THE French church of S. SAUVEUR, Philadelphia, is making rapid and permanent growth. The new church was opened on Easter day, 1888, when fifty-seven persons received the Holy Communion; since then eighty-two new communicants have been added. Since that time the names of 223 foreigners have been added to the register, of whom 134 are French, 135 Roman Catholics. Of the thirty confirmed by Bishop Whitaker on his visitation last month, twenty-eight had been baptised and brought up in the Roman communion. The church building was begun eighteen months ago with less than a quarter of the money required; it is now entirely paid for. The erection of an adjacent structure in the spring has been decided upon, by which the seating capacity of the church will be increased and rooms for other purposes provided.

CANON LIDDON has sent to the *Guardian* an interesting communication, in which he summarises the opinions of Dr. Dollinger upon the recent Lambeth Conference. We can not do better than transcribe the learned theologian's answer to the question: "What did he think of it?" as put by Canon Liddon: "Well," he said, "I congratulate English Church people, and, I must add, I envy them. Nothing of equal importance in the history of the English Church had taken place for, at any rate, more than two centuries. The spectacle of an assembly of 146 bishops, dealing with burning questions, and deliberating with perfect freedom, could not but have a considerable effect throughout Europe—throughout Christendom. Had it taken place before the Bonn Conferences of 1874 and 1875, those assemblies might have been able to do much more than they did for the cause of Christian unity. As it was, the Lambeth Conference showed the world that the Anglican portion of the Church was much more than a merely national Communion; from this point of view great importance was to be attached to the presence of so many American prelates. Even the unfortunate attempt to unsettle so fundamental a principle as the indispensableness of the Episcopate to the transmission of the ministerial character and commission, by its complete failure, supplied a useful illustration of the general temper of the conference. It was the passing shadow which enables us the better to do justice to the beauty of a landscape."

IN view of the interest caused by Mr. Gladstone's motion for a return of the divorce cases since the passing of the Divorce Act thirty years ago, a correspondent has supplied the

Standard with some particulars as to the working of that act. From the Reformation till 1857, when the act was passed, the total number of divorces was 317. In the first ten years after it became law, 1279 divorces were granted, of which the decrees were made absolute. Some of these, at any rate during the earlier years of this decennial period, probably were awaiting the passing of the act, and so the average of 127 a year is likely to be above the mark. In the second ten years—viz., from 1868 to 1877—the number of decrees absolute rose to 1731, thus giving an annual average of 173. In the third period of ten years they rose to 2371—in other words, 337 marriages were dissolved each year. The total number of divorces pronounced during the thirty years thus amounts to 6381.

THE CHURCH ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF LABOR, of which Bishop Huntington is president, met on Tuesday evening, February 26, in the hall of S. John the Evangelist, West Eleventh and Waverly Place, New York. It was of a representative character, including rich and poor, and nearly three hours were spent in a kind of *conversazione*. Dr. DeCosta introduced the proceedings, showing that the poor who build and endow the palaces of the rich did not always know any more than the watch dog who saves the man's house and life, the difference between benefactor and beneficiary, holding that the rich were the beneficiaries of the poor. The Rev. Mr. Huntington, after the singing of "Our Lord He was a carpenter," read a paper explaining the origin of the "C. A. I. L.," and what it proposed to do, laying it down that the present social order could not and should not be allowed to last, introducing as subjects of conversation questions relating to the general condition of things in the new coming social order. The venerable Mary Frances Cusack, the Nun of Kenmare, who has recently become reconciled to our communion, and who sat upon the platform, then spoke in a familiar way on her favorite theme, the training of girls for domestic service, a work in which she had been so much obstructed by Archbishop Corrigan. Dr. Langdon, of Bedford, Pa., spoke of the perplexities that surrounded the industrial question and of the need of Divine guidance. The meeting then became a conversation, in which many joined, giving their views and experience in connection with daily toil, and Dr. Wilson of S. George's closed this part of the programme by expressing, on behalf of Dr. Rainsford, the sympathy of S. George's, where it was believed that a new social order is to come and ought to come. Miss Vanderzee Lee then recited Ralph Hoyt's poem on "The Moral Strike," followed by another song and devotions which included prayers

for employer and employee, the Knights of Labor, the Labor Unions, all strikers, and all those who are boycotted and black-listed. A refection was then spread, and an *agape* enjoyed, it being almost twelve o'clock before all had dispersed to their homes. It was a most unique and significant gathering, showing the tendency of the age, and drawing representatives from various quarters of the city.

WHAT CONSTITUTES A CHARITABLE PURPOSE?

The Church Times, London, makes an interesting comment on a recent decision in the Court of Appeal on what constitutes a charitable purpose. It says:

What is a charitable purpose? This is a question of considerable importance just now in face of the case which has just been decided in the Court of Appeal, where the Moravian Society has for the present secured a triumph over the Commissioners of Income Tax in respect of the claim made by the latter to assess the property of the former for the purpose of taxation. Until last year the Moravians had never been taxed, but then the Commissioners, ever ready, as efficient public servants, to tax everything and everybody, raised the point in the Divisional Court, and secured a finding in their favor, the Lord Chief Justice holding that missions to the heathen, support of schools, and so forth, were not strictly charitable deeds, and so could not be included under the head of charities. The Court of Appeal, however, has upset the narrow view adopted by Lord Coleridge, the Master of the Rolls, and Lords Justices Fry and Lopes, deciding that trusts for such purposes should come under the wider interpretation given to the term *charitable* by Chancery. There the matter remains at present, pending an appeal to the House of Lords, supposing the Commissioners determine to fight the matter out, and it is not hard to suppose it, seeing that the Exchequer has so much to gain in the event of the decision of the Court of Appeal suffering the fate of that of the Divisional Court. But it will be a very serious matter if our great missionary societies, for instance, are compelled to pay income tax on property, hitherto regarded as exempt. It will add to that already too large expenditure which is not directly the object of such societies, and in that proportion will it further curtail the usefulness of property, none too large now for the results it is expected to produce.

The comment on the Salvation Army is also interesting:

Mr. Booth recently succeeded in securing for himself and his organisation a very clever advertisement, when he was admitted to an audience with the Home Secretary, and boldly asked for £15,000, ostensibly for the relief of the outcast, practically for the furtherance of Boothism. But that advertisement of the Salvation Army has called forth, in our own columns as elsewhere, such doubts of the value of the work which Mr. Booth claims to have accomplished, that those benevolent but unthinking outsiders who liberally sub-

scribe to the funds of the Army, ought to pause and consider whether they are utilising the best agency for the laying out of their funds. There can be no doubt whatever that, in the inevitable course of affairs, Boothism is but another of the excrescences which caricature the face of much of modern Christianity. It has receded from its professed undenominationalism, it has done little or nothing to break through the inert mass of practical heathenism, and it has unsettled many who were quietly pursuing the old paths. A letter which Mr. Llewellyn Davies wrote in the *Times* very trenchantly deals more particularly with the second of these assertions. Mr. Davies speaks from intimate knowledge of the facts derived from exceptional opportunities, and he declares, without hesitation, that the work of the 'Army,' in that district at least where his own church is situated, is a distinct failure. He failed, as others failed, to secure the names of any genuine converts from the class for which the 'Army' was presumed to be started. Many persons of religious character and susceptible dispositions were attracted to it, but none, permanently, from the uncared-for and disreputable classes whose exclusive champion Mr. Booth tried to prove himself before Mr. Matthews. It is time that this miserable travesty of religion should be put to the test, and that the philanthropic people who so largely support its peculiar methods should understand that the work which Mr. Booth is doing is a work of destruction, not of construction, and that the amelioration of the outcast and poor of London is going on steadily through the old-established agencies, not by means of this newest of shams.

RELIGIOUS COMMEMORATION OF WASHINGTON'S INAUGURATION.

The address of the Committee of Clergymen, charged with the preparation of the religious services on the centennial celebration of the inauguration of George Washington as President of the United States, has been made public and is as follows:

The undersigned, on behalf of a large body of clergymen of this city, called together by the chairman of the Executive Committee on the Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of George Washington as President of the United States, beg leave to submit to the ministers and churches of the United States the following statement and suggestion in regard to the religious observances appropriate to the one hundredth anniversary of the establishment of Constitutional Government in our country.

The 30th of April, 1889, will be the centenary of a most important event, the beginning of the free and happy Government under which we live. That beginning was most auspicious. It was the inauguration of George Washington as President of the United States. Naturally he, who was universally recognised as our first soldier and first citizen, was unanimously chosen to be the first to

hold the office of Chief of State. He and the eminent men whom he drew around him gave an impress to our institutions and the proceedings under them which has never been lost. It is difficult to estimate what we owe to the first Administration of the General Government, which plowed its way through an unknown sea and was exposed to cross-currents of every kind, yet held its course steadily to the end and opened a pathway which has been followed by all its successors through the complete century. This happy beginning was not an accident, but due to causes which our fathers distinctly recognised.

When the signers of the Declaration of Independence mutually pledged to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor in its support, it was, as they are careful to say, 'with a firm reliance upon the protection of Divine Providence.'

Immediately after the delivery of his inaugural address, President Washington, with the eminent men who had taken part in the ceremonies, proceeded to S. Paul's Chapel in Broadway, where prayers were read by one of the chaplains of Congress. [The Right Rev. Samuel Provost, D.D., the first Bishop of New York.]

The prayers offered by the Father of his Country at that critical period and re-echoed by innumerable devout hearts among the people have been answered, as the slightest view of the past century shows. Surely, then, it is our privilege to make due recognition of the fact in a public and formal manner.

On the morning of April 30, 1789, the bells at nine o'clock summoned the people to the churches to implore the blessing of Heaven on the Nation and its President, so universal was the religious sense of the importance of the occasion.

We respectfully and earnestly request our fellow-citizens of every name and race and creed in this city and throughout the entire country, following the example our fathers, to meet in their respective places of worship at nine o'clock on the morning of the 30th of April, 1889, and to hold such religious services of thanksgiving and praise as may seem suitable, in view of what God has done for us and our land during the century which has elapsed since George Washington took the chair of State.

Religion and patriotism have been united among us as a people from the very beginning; may they so continue forever.

This is signed on behalf of our Church by the Rev. Drs. J. W. Brown, of S. Thomas's Church, and E. W. Donald, of the Church of the Ascension, New York City.

CENTRAL CHINA.

ON Monday, December 17, the Rt. Rev. Wm. J. Boone, D.D., missionary bishop of the American Church in China, laid the corner-stone of the new Church of the Nativity in the city of Wuchang. It was an auspicious occasion and drew together a large number of the native Christians, most of whom had never before witnessed any such ceremony of the

Church. At 10:30 A.M. the procession formed in the Wuchang Divinity School and proceeded to the church in the following order: 1. Choir of the Bishop Boone Memorial School; 2. Surpliced clergy of the Central China mission; 3. The Rev. F. R. Graves representing the American Church, and the Rev. L. T. Wang representing the native Church; 4. The Bishop of "Shanghai and the Yang Tze Valley." A platform had been erected at the corner of the church wall and here was placed a small organ which furnished the music for the processional hymn. The service was specially compiled for the occasion from the forms in the Priest's Prayer Book and the Rector's *vade-mecum*.

The Rev. Mr. Graves read the appropriate psalms and the Rev. Mr. Wang the Lesson from II Chronicles vi and vii and then the block of granite was lifted into its place by four stalwart masons and adjusted by the Chinese plummet. Under it was placed a sealed tin-box containing the New Testament, the Prayer Book and various Church documents and coins. When all was ready the Bishop stepped forward and tapping the stone three times said in the Mandarin dialect, "In the Faith of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, I lay this foundation-stone to be the corner-stone of the church of the Nativity of the Holy Catholic Church in the city of Wuchang, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the HOLY GHOST. Amen."

Then followed the closing versicles and prayers, and the entire assembly united in singing the hymn, "Jesus shall reign where'er the sun, does his successive journeys run."

The clergy returned to the Divinity School during the singing of the recessional and the church building was handed over once more to the heathen workmen, the polished corner-stone being carefully covered with Cantonese matting to protect it from injury, by falling bricks or mortar.

The entire services from beginning to end were in the Chinese language—not a syllable of the English tongue was heard;—this made it a unique occasion in the history of the mission and helped to impress upon every Chinese convert present the great truth of the Church's catholicity.

CHURCH STUDENTS' MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION.

THE General Theological Seminary, which so properly took the initiative in calling the Convention of last year and extended its hospitalities to the delegates, repeated its courtesies this year. Most of the delegates assembled in the library of the Seminary at 2 P.M. on February 11. At the Church of the Holy Communion, when the Convention was formally called to order, there was an address by the

President, Mr. Eckel, of the General Seminary, who summed up the objects of the assembly. He was followed by Mr. Baer, of the Philadelphia Divinity School, the Vice-President, who briefly reviewed the work of the Church during the past year in her missionary jurisdictions. Then were given five-minute reports from each of the institutions represented. The General Seminary presented its labors in behalf of the Rev. Mr. Neesan of Persia, who, with the funds they have collected and pledged for him, is soon to return to his native country. The Philadelphia Divinity School told, through Mr. Keeling, of the interesting work carried on by its Dean and students in local missionary work, a practical department for the training of future ministers.

The evening service in Calvary Church was well attended by the delegates, though the general congregation was small. After evening prayer, Dean Hoffman made a short address of welcome to the Convention, and was followed by the Rev. Edward Osborne, of Boston, who appealed for men for the large cities. The Rev. Mr. Kirkus, of Baltimore, in an address full of affection for the members of the association, urged that the love for GOD and man was the proper incentive to all missionary endeavor. He was succeeded by Dr. A. Toomer Porter, of Charleston. He briefly reviewed the Christian work that has been done among the Southern blacks, drawing attention to the meagreness of our Church's own labors there, and at the close demanded an intelligent consideration of the question that is now dividing the Southern Dioceses, saying that there exists in that section a state of things which has no parallel. The speaker's earnestness and moral bravery could be read from his face as well as his lips.

The next morning's session at the Church of the Holy Communion was occupied with the reading of essays by members. Mr. Bristol, of the Berkeley Divinity School, gave much interesting information on Alaska. Mr. Langdon, of Cornell University, had for his subject: "The Church among college men," and related his own experience and labors in the college which he represented. His suggestions called forth a discussion lasting for the time allowed. Too much stress, perhaps, was laid on intellectual difficulties, while almost no attention was given to the great battle fought out so largely within college precincts between righteousness and unrighteousness. At the afternoon meeting a committee was appointed to take the matter into consideration, and especially to report on the advisability of obtaining clergy to travel from college to college to revive the Christian spirit. The last essay was read by Mr. Montgomery of the Philadelphia Divinity School, who presented a paper on Japan. He treated of the national and

religious conditions of that country, the duties and future possibilities of the Church with reference to them, and the necessity for immediate action.

The afternoon session was devoted to business. After a well-argued contest between Cambridge, Philadelphia, and Alexandria, for the honor of welcoming the next Convention, the prize fell to the first-named. Each institution desired the increase of evangelistic spirit that would then flow from the meeting. According to rule, Cambridge obtained the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who were respectively, Messrs. Hensel, Page and —. Mr. Montgomery of Philadelphia, was elected first Vice-President, Mr. Langdon of Cornell, second, and Mr. Higbee, of Nashotah, third. A committee was appointed to confer with the Board of Foreign Missions concerning the strict physical requirements for missionaries. Mr. Roderick, of Alexandria, informed the Convention concerning the mission to Brazil in which he and another from the same seminary are about to engage, under the auspices of the American Church Missionary Society. He was listened to with great attention, and his fluent and vivid statements were loudly applauded.

At the evening service at Calvary Chapel, Dr. Kirkby, of Rye, N. Y., gave an entertaining account of "the Church's work among the Indians of Hudson's Bay," sketching the history of the mission in that field, and its present condition. Bishop Garrett gave a spirited account of the "Needs of the Church in the West and Southwest," dwelling on the qualities essential to a missionary in that quarter, and the great need there felt for schools for the young. "The missionary spirit a characteristic of Christianity," was the subject of an address by Everett P. Wheeler, Esq., President of the Church Club of New York. The closing address was made by Bishop Potter, who spoke very solemnly of the obligation that lies upon the young man to place himself in readiness to obey the call of GOD to his appointed field of work. He asked the delegates to kneel down with him and each in silent prayer to ask the guidance of GOD in the choice of their life work.

Thus fittingly ended a Convention which was fraught with the greatest blessing to all who took part, and whose influence was carried hence by the delegates to the many and widely scattered institutions represented. These included Nashotah, Bishop's College, Quebec, Trinity College, Toronto, and such schools as S. Paul's, Concord, with such Colleges as Cornell, Trinity, Harvard, and Princeton—in all fourteen institutions and 36 delegates. None can foretell the usefulness of this young association, and it is one which the Church can well foster and cherish.

THE FEDERATE COUNCIL OF NEW YORK.

DELEGATES to the proposed Federate Council of the five Dioceses of the State of New York, assembled in Grace Church, New York, in response to the call of Bishop Potter. After the celebration of the Holy Communion, they adjourned to the Church House in Lafayette Place.

There were present, Bishops Coxe, Doane and Potter. Diocese of New York: The Rev. Drs. A. B. Beach, T. A. Eaton, T. Gallaudet, James Mulchahey, W. J. Seabury, and the Rev. F. B. Van Kleeck, and C. F. Canedy, and Messrs. D. C. Calvin, T. Egleston, H. L. Morris, John A. Beal, and Douglas Merritt. Western New York: The Rev. Drs. James Rankine, E. N. Potter, and the Rev. S. R. Fuller, and Warren W. Walsh; and Mr. W. M. White. Long Island: The Rev. Drs. E. D. Cooper, T. S. Drowne, S. M. Haskins, W. H. Moore, and the Rev. Charles R. Baker. Albany: The Rev. Fenwick M. Cookson, R. G. Hamilton, and Alexander McMillan. Central New York: The Rev. Drs. T. Babcock, A. B. Goodrich, W. T. Gibson, J. Brainard, W. D. Wilson, J. H. Edgar, H. R. Lockwood, Geo. H. McKnight, and Messrs. G. J. Gardiner, Clarke, Moss, and Harkins.

The Rev. Dr. Wilson presented the following letter from Bishop Huntington, which, although long, is such an important contribution to the literature on the subject of Provincial councils that we give it in full.

A notification of a meeting of representatives of the Dioceses in the State of New York next week seems to require something more than a mere acknowledgment. So far as what follows is personally explanatory it is distasteful to me and is submitted only because it seems to be required by courtesy.

When I was consulted respecting a similar meeting about a year ago, proposed for the purpose of promoting certain changes in the law for the Incorporation of Parishes, I demurred on the ground that I was unwilling to take any step which might seem to commit me individually, or as the Bishop of a Diocese, to the project of a Federate Council; but I afterwards consented to attend the meeting rather than obstruct a measure which by others was considered important. 'Deputies' being expected, it was thought proper that the members of a committee already appointed for the Diocese on the legislative measure referred to, should also attend. At the opening of the proceedings I took pains to state, as unobtrusively as possible, with what understanding I had come. The specific business being transacted, the meeting was adjourned (as I was informed, not having been present,) to be convened this year at the call of the Bishop of New York, and the form of the Bill there agreed upon was directed to be sent to the Legislature without being submitted to the several Dioceses,—a direction in which I could not have concurred, to which some who were present objected, and a

significant indication of what may be expected of submitting Diocesan independence to a centralised control. The subsequent fate of the Bill is well known. Meantime a question naturally arose as to what had become of the 'Federate Council,' as a visible Body, during the seventeen years since at the close of a meeting it was declared to be adjourned subject to the call of the Bishop of New York. On inquiry in the right quarter for some authentic account of that meeting, I was referred to a Presbyter in the Diocese of Long Island, and all I could learn further was that the 'Council' had apparently left no Constitution, no By-Laws, no Records, no Officers, and no Roll of members. Let it not be understood, however, that I lay any particular stress on what was done or what was not done in the way of organisation. For seventeen years whatever vitality there might have been had slept, and nothing suffered.

The question of the necessity or even the expediency of such a Council being raised, we must recur to the avowed objects set forth when permission was originally asked of the General Convention to establish one. Three such objects were specified, and, so far as I know, no other has been specifically named in all the discussions of the subject, viz.: Church interests as affected by State legislation, Educational Institutions, and the erection of a Provincial Appellate Court. As respects the last of these, no one who knows the past course and present state of canonical legislation touching our ecclesiastical judiciary, and the opinions of some at least of our ablest jurists, can entertain much expectation that a judicial system confined to particular States will ever be set up. Touching Church Education, if we look intelligently at each and all of the schools and colleges in the five Dioceses, can it strike any Churchman that there is a reasonable prospect of any material modification of their management, or patronage, or mutual relations, by any joint action, or that any new college or school can be thus created? Amicable co-operation and the interplay of intellectual and moral sympathies may be looked for always, but local endowments or personal obligations and tastes, as well as the failure of some feeble attempts, discourage utterly the idea of formal union. For the other one of the three apprehended occasions for conciliar action, the proposed machinery would be quite in excess of the demand and altogether needless.

An apposite illustration is found in the recent case alluded to. The movement to obtain an alteration of the statute was started without any difficulty. Committees raised in the several conventions met together; the business was getting along well enough and might have been carried through on the same lines, when, all at once, a 'Federate Council' was invoked to take it up—suggesting a natural query whether, instead of a Federate Council being wanted to get an amendment of the law, the amendment of the law was not resorted to as an expedient for getting a Federal Council. So far, therefore, what a Federate Council is wanted for has not been made to appear. Even a lively imagination can hardly indicate any

practical way in which the business of Diocesan Missions could be consolidated or combined.

On the other hand, experience affords strong and evident reasons why the *status* hitherto existing should not be disturbed. For nineteen years these five Dioceses have pursued the high ends for which they were established with energy and prosperity, with a wholesome freedom and independence, each one extending the Kingdom of our LORD and gathering rich spiritual harvests under the General Constitution and legislation of the Church at large, each one acting within its own bounds and by its own Diocesan methods. What is specially germane to the matter now in hand, this prosperity has been attended, and doubtless promoted, by relations of uniform mutual harmony, peace and goodwill, among the Dioceses one with another, without impediment or friction. In education, missions, parochial policy, social activities, each has had an unencumbered career, with courtesy and respect towards all the rest. A score of years of a continuous order and growth like this bear a weighty and instructive testimony. It might be too much to say that this ought to preclude every possible untried experiment. But it confirms the judgment that the conditions of a great welfare should be unsettled very slowly if at all, and only on some urgent constraint. Imagination may be called in to picture conceivable advantages; but that faculty is quite as much to be trusted in suggesting possible discords, interferences, partisan combinations, jealousies,—for which a semi-political and centralising organisation, as the story of other times sufficiently proves, furnishes tempting opportunities.

It is moreover to be remembered that, in the things of religion, what is not of use is waste. If this project is not clearly demanded of us by principles of charity and piety we ought to let it alone. We are not in a situation to expend time, travel, labor, or much attention, on devices containing no solid promise of spiritual fruit. Contemplating society and human life as they are, in full view of the sins, sufferings, and unbeliefs, which encompass us on every side, and remembering what CHRIST's own example and commission are calling us to do, we can hardly regard this as a time for putting together a new piece of ecclesiastical mechanism. There may be a popular notion that something great or good is sure to be done by getting people together and having proceedings, offices, balloting, resolutions, and debates. It can scarcely be pretended, however, that, with the present facilities for communication, we are destitute of any means of either information or fellowship which this inchoate provision could be expected to supply. There is such a thing as organising over-much.

Furthermore, there is ground for grave reflection in the inevitable relations of the matter to the powers and prospective acts of the Supreme Legislature of the Church. No Churchman can fail to discern that this particular question must be ultimately determined by a statesmanship looking far beyond any immediate issues, or any Diocese or group of Dioceses, here or there. Provincial Government forms one of the great problems in the Church economy of the

future. Interests of an unknown magnitude, manifold and intricate, more than commensurate with the growth of population and the divisions of geography, yet connected with these, appertain to it. Comprehensive minds representing the people and the wants of widely separated regions will have to deal with it. Certainly the guarded and qualified permissive action of the General Convention shows little favor for State federation.

As was well said in an able report presented by a learned committee at the last Convention of Central New York, to undertake to fix now in one spot upon a line of Polity, where contingencies are so many and the range of fact and thought must be so large, would be as ineffectual as it would be premature. The recommendation of that report, that no action should be taken by the Convention, was adopted. Subsequently it was considered that, as delegates would be unpledged and the whole subject would be open, it would be safe and courteous for the Bishop to appoint a deputation to the New York meeting, and a majority so voted.

In an ardent plea lately made for this abnormal plan the speaker sought to support his view by reference to the opinions of Bishop De Lancy as expressed in one of his annual addresses. The whole passage referred to reads, I find, as follows: 'The subject of dividing the Church in this country into Provinces originally submitted by me to the General Convention of 1850, was brought up at the recent General Convention. A resolution of enquiry was adopted by the House of Bishops, and afterwards reconsidered and referred to the next General Convention. I look to this measure as one more source of union, strength and permanency for our Church System in this country.' This 'measure' was a broad territorial division. That Bishop De Lancy desired, or that it will be ultimately concluded, to put 'Federate Councils' into large States and leave small States without them, which would disfigure the country with ecclesiastical contrasts,—an organised inequality,—giving to the term 'Provincial' a definition little less than grotesque, there is not a particle of proof. One has only to forecast the speckled map of incongruities which would hereafter be presented to the eye, to perceive how ill-advised this hasty device of division by State lines really is. State lines were drawn out at first by a great variety of geographical, colonial, migratory, commercial and personal influences. When determined upon they entered into the civil system as a necessity. To the Church Catholic they are an accident, except as the general Church organisation, taking place near in time to that of the Republic, found it feasible to use them in a natural analogy between the distribution of States and Dioceses. Any perversion of them to suit a scheme of Provinces would be a departure from that analogy and a creator of confusion. In fact the analogy itself has been discarded already by the division of Dioceses. Only two local reasons can be adduced for confederating these five Dioceses, viz: that they formerly made but one, and that they lie within the limits of the same State government. But the process of division has formed no ties; and what there is in the

political or social character of New York to favor them is not plain. The State itself is an irregular triangle with a prong at one of the angles, at the end of which is a vast accumulation of people and property. As for a common life, spirit or type among the people, the Southeastern counties have no more in common with those of the extreme West or North than Pennsylvania with Iowa. Each of the five Dioceses has as much in common with communities in the States adjoining as with the other four. Already there is a public discussion of a future civil division of the State into two. What then would become of a Province constructed on the basis of one? Delay would certainly appear to be wiser than the needless doing of what would have to be undone. The utterly changed conditions of all forms of social, industrial, civil, educational life and transportation render hopeless any attempt to find a pattern for future administrative methods in antiquity. Creed, ministry, and sacraments are unchangeable elements in our Scriptural and Catholic inheritance. All else must conform to God's Providence and the movement of events among the nations and ages.

I am not reluctant to avow my conviction that in our Church policy the way of wisdom and safety will be found to be the way of simplicity rather than of complication; Diocesan independence rather than hazardous alliances; and increased devotional, pastoral and charitable activity in our several fields rather than multiplied assemblages. Hitherto it has been found that departures from such simplicity, independence, and practical activity have not borne the richest or sweetest religious fruits. Experience has not encouraged them. While I am writing this, I notice in one of our weekly papers, the *Living Church*, the following timely cautions, which, though there applied to another subject, are suitable here.

'No thinking man can fail to see the immense temptations which attend the concentration of power in a particular region, temptations both to those who wield it, and to those who are subjected to it. No statesman, we say, would, to gain a temporary point, incur the risks which such a readjustment of our system would involve.

'Still more than this may be said. Power concentrated in one comparatively narrow region is more easily manipulated by a few individuals. It is no longer necessary, in order to carry any given measure, or to introduce a particular line of policy, that the whole Church should be persuaded, and public sentiment be generally educated up to the point desired. The ecclesiastical politician may confine his efforts to a particular field, the adroit orator has to deal with an audience which he understands, and which easily responds to his persuasions. If there should chance to be a great metropolis—the natural meeting-place of the principal leaders, the home of Church institutions and 'houses'—coteries and rings (if we may be pardoned the expression) readily come into existence, which have it in their power to mold the legislation of the whole Church. Thus an oligarchy grows up, all the more mischievous because its members have not been formerly invested with authority and can seldom be called to account. That an oligarchy is the worst form

of human government is one of the plainest lessons of history. The Constitution of the Church should certainly have it for a primary object not to facilitate but to throw every possible obstacle in the way of the machinations of ecclesiastical politicians and their secret combinations.'

Ours is a period of much publicity and external demonstration. We want deeper thought, stronger personal faith, heartier consecration, holier living, and a closer communion with God and the unseen world. Intense political and commercial forces are ready to push their way into the Church, to magnify its material and secular aspects in commercial and political centers, and to match the wealth and official pageantry and corporate power of the world with hierarchical and other like distinctions in the Kingdom of God. To specify the multiplying marks of such a tendency might seem invidious, but it could be easily done.

I submit to my Brethren that the foregoing considerations point plainly to postponement, at the least, as the way of wisdom. Another Triennial Convention is near at hand. There seems to be nothing to be lost and much may be gained by allowing the subject to remain in abeyance, as it has hitherto stood. The best place to resist bad tendencies is at their beginning.

Asking the forbearance of my Brethren for taxing their time, and possibly their patience, I present my views in writing, and absent myself from the meeting appointed, because it seems to me I ought not to take part in proceedings by which I might not be able to consider myself bound.

F. D. HUNTINGTON,

Bishop of Central New York.

SYRACUSE, Feb. 21, 1889.

The consideration of the letter was for the present postponed, and the council spent the rest of the first day in considering the report of the Committee to draft a constitution and by-laws.

On the second day the constitution was passed in this form :

Preamble.—The Federate Council of the Church in the State of New York, acting under Canon 6, of Title III, of the Digest of Canons of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, as contained in the copy of the Digest annexed to the Journal of said General Convention of the year of our LORD one thousand eight hundred and eighty-six (1886), adopt the following constitution :

ARTICLE I. The Federate Council shall consist of the bishop (and assistant-bishop, if there be one,) of each diocese of this Church in the State of New York, together with deputies of the clergy and laity, not exceeding in number eight of each order, communicants in this Church, residents in the Diocese, and chosen in the manner prescribed by the Convention thereof.

ART. II. The Bishop of New York shall be *ex-officio* President of the Federate Council. In his absence the senior bishop present shall

preside. Such other officers as are necessary shall be elected by the council in such manner and for such term as it shall prescribe.

ART. III. There shall be an annual meeting of the Federate Council, and it shall be held in the city of New York except as otherwise ordered, at least fourteen days before Ash Wednesday, as may be appointed by the council from year to year. The bishops, clergy, and laity shall sit together as one house, and the presence of the bishops of three Dioceses, and of clerical deputies from three Dioceses, and of lay deputies from three Dioceses shall be necessary for the transaction of business. But a representation from one Diocese shall be sufficient to adjourn. The Bishop of New York, at the request of a majority of the bishops of the Dioceses of the state, shall have power to call a special meeting of the council.

ART. IV. In all questions, when required by a bishop, or by the clerical or lay representation from any Diocese, the vote shall be taken by Dioceses and Orders, and each order shall have one vote; and the majority of suffrages by Dioceses shall be conclusive in each Order, provided such majority comprehend a majority of the Dioceses represented in that order. The concurrence of the bishops, clergy, and laity shall be necessary to constitute a vote of the Federate Council when taken by dioceses and orders.

ART. V. All amendments to this constitution shall be first proposed in one Federate Council, and made known to the several Diocesan conventions before they shall be finally agreed to or ratified in the ensuing Federate Council. And a majority of all the Dioceses entitled to representation shall be necessary to ratify any such amendment.

When the constitution was read and was about to be passed, Bishop Potter arose and said: "Before the vote is taken on the question of the adoption of the constitution I wish to make a motion to reconsider the second article relative to the presidency. I do so because it has been represented to me by certain delegates that they experience a delicacy in seeking such action. I am compelled to say that the Diocese of New York should be recognised as the parent of all Dioceses in this State, and I feel that while I have no right to surrender the privileges of that Diocese, for they are not mine alone, but belong to my successors, still I have no hesitation in moving, as I do, in order to relieve the delegates who feel themselves placed in a delicate position, and now do move the re-consideration of said article."

Bishop Doane asked if the motion was seconded, and as there was no response the constitution was passed as it stood.

A committee was appointed to make a reply to the letter of Bishop Huntington, consisting of the Bishops of New York, Long Island, Albany, and Western New York and the Rev. Dr. W. D. Wilson.

The question of an amendment to the State laws governing

the incorporation of parishes was then taken up, and after a long discussion, Bishop Doane, who was in the chair, appointed as a committee on technicalities to put the bill into proper shape, Prof. Egleston, Judge Calvin, Messrs. Pattison and Cogswell and Judge Sawyer. The bill will not be presented to the Legislature until the several Dioceses have had time to consider the points involved in the proposed legislation.

The subject of an Appellate Court was referred to a Committee which will consider the propriety and feasibility of the adoption found in the Journal of the Diocese of New York.

The qualifications, etc., of Vestrymen were considered, and it was decided that the annual elections should take place on the Monday after the First Sunday in Advent, and that only baptised persons should be eligible to election, and that the Vestry should fill any vacancies in its membership during the year.

Documents and Official Reports.

BISHOP WHITAKER'S REPORT ON CUBA.

TO THE PRESIDING BISHOP, THE RT. REV. J. WILLIAMS, D.D.,
LL.D.:

MY DEAR BISHOP:—In accordance with your appointment to take charge of the Missions of our Church in Cuba I have visited the island, and respectfully report: I arrived in Havana Saturday morning February 2, and remained until Monday evening, when I went to Matanzas, where I stayed six days.

Returning to Havana I remained until Thursday evening, February 14, when I left for New York by the steamship Niagara. My visit was confined to Havana and Matanzas as we have no mission established at any other points, but there is reason to believe that in several other large towns in the island the field is as ready for the workers as in either of these places. We have but one clergyman on the island, the Rev. Pedro Duarte, a deacon, a native Cuban, who prepared for the ministry in Philadelphia, and was ordained by Bishop Stevens in 1885. He lives in Matanzas, which has about 30,000 inhabitants, and is sixty-five miles from Havana. He has in Matanzas two congregations, one of which worships in a rented hall and the other in his own hired house. In connection with the latter he has a Sunday-school of one hundred and fifty children and a day school numbering one hundred and thirty-seven. Most of the children are Cubans, but there are a few negroes. The same is true of the congregations in Matanzas and in Havana. The school is free of necessity, as the parents are too poor to pay for tuition.

About two hundred families are connected with the Mission at Matanzas, and of these there are seventy-nine persons who pay

each a small monthly subscription toward defraying its expenses. But the amount of these is only \$27.85 a month. A collection is taken at each service, and these collections, with the subscriptions, furnish about enough to pay the rent of the hall and one-half the rent of Mr. Duarte's house.

I held divine service in the hall and in the chapel in his house, and in one confirmed forty-eight persons and in the other celebrated the Holy Communion. There were about forty communicants. At the service in the hall there were about eighty persons seated and twenty or more standing. In the chapel there were one hundred and fifty seated and one hundred standing, crowding every available place. I was told that the usual congregation is about one-half the number who were seated at these services. A small reed organ was used at each service, and the singing was hearty.

Three evenings of the time I was in Matanzas were devoted to the annual examination of the day school. The children were examined in reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, morals and religion. Each session was from seven o'clock until ten, and during all the time the chapel and entrance were crowded to their utmost capacity, every foot of standing room being occupied, and the attention was as close as during Divine service. Most of the parents of the pupils were present, and evidently took the deepest interest in what was going on. Six gentlemen of Matanzas acted as a board of examiners, at the request of Mr. Duarte, but the questioning was mainly by the teachers of the several classes—Mr. Duarte, Miss Acasta and Mr. Francisco Olivella. In the day school singing is taught by Mrs. Duarte, and in the Sunday-school and at the services the organ is played by Mr. Luis Mazzorana, who is an accomplished musician. The examinations were creditable, especially in grammar and religion. The children named the books of the Bible in order without hesitation and answered a great variety of questions promptly, and showed a fair knowledge of the Church Catechism. All the girls and boys who wish to learn needlework are taught in the school, and a large collection of their work, ornamental and practical, was exhibited, most of which was admirably done.

It is evident that in Matanzas Mr. Duarte is directly reaching about seven hundred persons, men, women and children, giving to the children a better education than they could otherwise possibly obtain, and imparting to them all a knowledge of religious truth from which they have hitherto been shut out. He is now sustained in his work by the American Church Missionary Society, which pays him one hundred dollars a month in gold and fifty dollars a month for the support of his school; and, in my judgment, the results are well worth the outlay.

In Havana we have no clergyman, but Mr. E. P. Collazo is acting as a lay reader under Mr. Duarte's direction. He has two congregations in different parts of the city, one of which meets in a private house and the other in a Masonic hall. He has also a Sunday-school numbering about thirty children. Mr. J. P. Trias, who was

licensed as a lay reader by Bishop Young, has also three associations of adults and children, to whom he gives instruction three evenings in a week. These three congregations are organised as a kind of benevolent association, and from all that I could learn I conclude that the purpose of mutual aid is as prominent with them as the promotion of religion.

I held three services in Havana, in the places where Mr. Collazo's congregations meet, and confirmed thirty-eight persons and celebrated the Holy Communion. There were about fifty communicants. At each of these services the room was filled, and many persons were standing. I should estimate the number present at about one hundred. All those confirmed in Havana were adults but one. In Matanzas nearly one-half were adults and the others members of the school.

It was my intention to hold service with Mr. Trias' congregations, and I wrote to him from Matanzas appointing the day, but he failed to receive the letter, and when I returned to Havana it was too late to inform the people of the time that had been appointed. In all these congregations there are not a dozen persons who speak English. The services were all in Spanish, Mr. Duarte reading portions of each and interpreting the part which I read and the sermon. There is no occasion for an English service in Cuba. Even in Havana there are comparatively few who speak English, and they all understand Spanish. I met a few persons who were confirmed in the United States, and there are probably many more whom I did not meet who desire regular Church services, and who will do something toward sustaining them, but they would be as well satisfied with a service in Spanish as in English.

There are large opportunities for missionary work in Cuba. It is certain that many of the people have ceased to have any respect for the Roman Catholic Church, and are ready to welcome a pure faith and a spiritual worship. Their willingness to relinquish burial in consecrated ground for the sake of their religion proves this. One of the most prominent men in the Mission in Matanzas died a few weeks ago. He had been baptised in the Roman Church, but he belonged to the 'Episcopal Mission' and he had to be buried in the 'Potters' Field.' One of Mr. Duarte's children is buried there. And to be willing to be buried, and to bury one's dead in a trench with scores of other bodies, with nothing to mark the individual grave, when by simply continuing in indifference burial would be secured in a separate grave in consecrated ground, proves at least the existence of strong religious conviction. And this conviction is bound to find expression in some form. The late Bishop Young, of Florida, was well advised of the growing desire amongst the Cubans for a religion different from what their priests would give them. He visited Cuba several times, and on different occasions confirmed a large number of persons. I have not been able to ascertain how many, but at least three or four hundred—perhaps many more. Several of these I found, and there are some of them in every congregation that I visited. But many of them in Havana,

despairing of having an Episcopal ministry, have identified themselves with the Baptist Mission in Havana, the minister of which is the Rev. A. J. Dias, a native Cuban, who was himself one of those confirmed by Bishop Young.

The Baptist Mission is now in a flourishing condition. It does not yet derive its support from its membership, but it is liberally supplied with funds from Baptists in the Southern States, and the day I left Havana I was told that negotiations had just been completed for the purchase of a large theatre in Havana, which is to be converted into a church, and that the sixty thousand dollars which the building costs is to be furnished in installments from the same source from which the present support of the mission is mainly derived.

The need of greater facilities for education appears from the fact that while in the city of Havana there are 200,448 people, of whom 146,192 are white and 54,256 are colored, of the white population only 99,273 can read and write, and 4017 can read only. Of the colored 1241 can read and write, and 2940 can read only. That is, less than one-half of the white population can read and write, and of the colored only one forty-fourth. And outside of Havana the proportion of those who read and write is doubtless smaller still. In view of this condition of affairs, the interest felt by parents in the education of their children, as illustrated by the foregoing reference to the school in Matanzas, is a hopeful fact.

The people themselves are not able to support either churches or schools. Nineteen-twentieths of them are very poor. The unsuccessful attempt at revolution destroyed the wealth of thousands of families, and ended with an increase of the burdens which had before been considered too heavy to be borne, while the ability to bear them had been greatly diminished. The enormous taxation under which industries languish, and improvements are impracticable, makes life for all except a favored few a continual struggle for existence. But it need not be so, and I do not believe that it always will be. The resources of Cuba are great, and with a wiser, more considerate civil administration there would come a greatly improved condition of the whole population.

The work which is now going on in Havana and Matanzas, through the agency of the Church Missionary Society, seems to me worthy of confidence and enlargement. In Matanzas there is need of a larger building for the church and school. There can be but little more growth without it. Mr. Duarte needs a reed organ for one of his chapels, and money for enclosing the ground which has been secured for a cemetery. A presbyter is needed to take charge of the missions in Havana. He must be familiar with the Spanish language and be qualified to direct the studies of young Cubans, whom he may find desirous of preparing themselves for the ministry. Two such there are now of those whom I confirmed in Havana, and one of them will, I hope, come to Philadelphia within a few months to begin his studies.

Praying that God will bless the Cuban Mission and that He will

stir up the hearts of His faithful people to bring forth plentifully the means for carrying it on,

I am, my dear Bishop, faithfully yours,

O. W. WHITAKER.

PHILADELPHIA, February 20, 1889.

REPORT ON THE COLORED QUESTION.

The following is the report of the commission elected by the convention held at Anderson, S.C., May 2 and 3, 1888:

To the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of South Carolina :

On the first day of its session the Convention of 1888 adopted unanimously the following preamble and resolutions :

After a long, anxious and earnest effort to solve the great problem which has agitated this Diocese for thirteen years, resulting in the alienation of the clergy and laity and the withdrawal of several parishes from this Convention, it is apparent that the interests of CHRIST and His Church among both races are in great jeopardy, and events have forced upon us the conclusion that the absolute necessity has arisen for the separate organisation of the two races in this Diocese. To this end, be it

Resolved, That in the judgment of this Convention such a separation, entire and complete, is now essential.

Resolved, That this Convention recognizes that it can not compel any organized congregation or mission to comply with the terms of its legislation ; but believing that such parishes or missions as now exist have the true interests of the Church at heart :

Resolved, That a committee of three clergymen, selected by the clergy, and three laymen, selected by the laity, with the Bishop as chairman, be requested and authorized to consult with the vestries of S. Mark's church, Charleston, S. Luke's church, Columbia, Church of the Epiphany, Summerville, Calvary church, Charleston, and the colored clergy in the diocese, to effect the complete separation into two complete organizations, under the Bishop of the diocese.

Resolved, That this Convention will give all aid and assistance in any application which these or any other parishes or missions may make to the General Convention, should legislation by it be found necessary to put this into full operation.

Resolved, That this committee will report the result to this Convention at its next meeting.

Resolved, That the election of this committee be made the special order at 1 o'clock on Thursday, the 3d of May.

Accordingly on that day the Rev. A. T. Porter, D.D., Rev. Ellison Capers, D.D., Rev. John Kershaw, and Messrs. R. W. Shand, John L. Manning and J. P. K. Bryan were duly elected, the Bishop being chairman.

Your commission so elected met at Saluda on the 15th of August, 1888, when, after full discussion of the resolutions under which they were acting and the best mode of effecting the object contemplated, the whole matter was referred to a sub-committee, who were to report to a meeting of the commission to be called by the chairman. This sub-committee submitted their report to the commission at a meeting held in Sumter on the 19th day of January, 1889, at which all the members were present. The following amendments to the Con-

stitution and Canons were unanimously agreed upon as a paper to be submitted to the colored clergy and laity at the conference to be held with them under the resolutions of the Convention, to-wit :

(1.) That Article III of the Constitution be amended as follows : That section 1 thereof shall read as follows : 'Section 1. The Convention shall be composed of clergymen and laymen, as hereinafter provided.'

(2.) That Section 2 thereof shall read as follows : 'Section 2. The Bishop, the Assistant Bishop (when there is one) and every other clergyman who has been actually as well as canonically resident within the Diocese for the space of twelve calendar months next before the meeting of the Convention, and has for the same period been performing the duties of his station as rector, minister, or assistant minister of an organised parish that is, or has been, or hereafter may be, in union with the Convention, or who, after a continued membership of at least twenty years in Convention, is incapacitated by the infirmities of health or age for further active duties of the ministry, and has presented his annual report to the ecclesiastical authority, shall be entitled to all the privileges of a member of the Convention. *Provided*, That no clergyman who is entitled to a seat and vote, or to a seat only, in the annual Convention of this diocese held in May, 1889, shall be deprived of his rights and privileges in subsequent Conventions by reason of anything in this section contained, but such rights and privileges shall be determined by the terms of this Article as it was of force on May 1, 1889.'

(3.) That Section 3 as it now stands be stricken out.

(4.) That Section 1, Canon i, be amended by inserting between the word 'votes' and the period in the seventeenth line the words 'and those who are neither entitled to seats nor votes.'

(5.) That the following Canon, to be known as Canon xiii, be adopted, and that the present Canon xiii and all subsequent thereto be changed in their numbering accordingly :

CANON XIII—OF CHURCH WORK AMONG PERSONS OF COLOR.

Section 1. This Convention recognizes and hereby affirms the duty of the Church to extend Church privileges among the colored people of this Diocese, and to this end pledges its cordial support to all congregations and missions established under the Bishop of the Diocese by or for colored people.

Section 2. All congregations and missions of colored persons within the limits of this diocese shall, for missionary and convocational purposes, be considered as one missionary district under the Bishop.

Section 3. The Convocation of such missionary district shall be composed of such representatives as may be determined by such congregations and missions upon their organisation of themselves into such convocation, and shall be held at such times and places as they shall determine.

Section 4. The Convocation shall elect its own officers, and, in the absence of the Bishop, the president shall preside.

Section 5. This Convocation shall be specially charged with the work of the Church among colored persons in this Diocese.

The commission having adopted the above, the chair was requested to ask for a conference with the colored clergy and laity, to be held in Columbia on the 26th of February, 1889.

Your commission met in conference on that day at S. Luke's,

Columbia, with the Rev. J. H. M. Pollard, the Rev. E. N. Hollings and the Rev. J. S. Quarles, and a layman from S. Mark's and one from Calvary church, Charleston, and three from S. Luke's, Columbia, the Bishop presiding. After explaining the object of the conference and reading the preamble and resolutions of the Convention, the Bishop called upon the colored clergymen and laymen for a full expression of their views and wishes. They replied that they had no suggestions to make, and requested the views of the Commission.

The action of the Commission as agreed upon at Sumter on the 19th of January was then presented and fully explained to them.

After a patient discussion of several hours, all the members of the conference participating, the proposed Canon xiii was decidedly disapproved by all the colored clergymen and the representatives of the vestries, except those of S. Luke's, Columbia, who agreed to it.

Thereupon the Commission inquired of the colored delegates in conference if they had any other plan to suggest, or if they had any modification or amendment to the proposed plan to present, and the answer was that they had none. So the conference failed to come to an agreement.

Under these circumstances, we do not offer the proposed Canon xiii for action to this Convention, but we recommend to you the amendments of Article III of the Constitution, as hereinbefore suggested, so that the first two sections of the article, when amended, will read as follows :

ARTICLE III, Section 1. The Convention shall be composed of clergymen and laymen, as hereinafter provided.

Section 2. The Bishop, Assistant Bishop (when there is one) and every other clergyman who has been actually as well as canonically resident within the diocese for the space of twelve calendar months next before the meeting of the Convention, and has for the same period been discharging the duties of his station as rector, minister or assistant minister of an organized parish that is, or has been, or hereafter may be, in union with this Convention, or who, after a continued membership of at least twenty years in Convention, is incapacitated by the infirmities of health or age for further active duties of the ministry, and has presented his annual report to the ecclesiastical authority, shall be entitled to all the privileges of a member of this Convention. *Provided*, That no clergyman who is entitled to a seat and a vote, or to a seat only, in the annual Convention of this diocese held in May, 1889, shall be deprived of his rights and privileges in subsequent Conventions by reason of anything in this section contained ; but such rights and privileges shall be determined by the terms of this article as it was of force May 1, 1889.

We recommend that Section 3, Article III, as it now stands, be stricken out ; and that Section 1 of Canon i be amended by inserting between the word 'votes' and the period in the seventeenth line the words 'and those who are entitled to neither seats nor votes.'

All of which is respectfully submitted.

W. B. HOWE,
A. T. PORTER,
ELLISON CAPERS,
JOHN KERSHAW,
ROB'T W. SHAND,
JOHN L. MANNING,
J. P. K. BRYAN,
Commission.

Columbia, S. C., February 26, 1889.

AMERICAN CHURCHES IN EUROPE.

The following resolutions were adopted by a conference of the rectors of the American churches in Europe, held at the Church of the Holy Spirit, Nice, France, February 27, 1889, representing the churches of Nice, Florence, Dresden, Geneva and Rome, the rector of the church in Paris being absent at the time in America :

WHEREAS, The constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A., is based on the principle of a representation in the council of the Church of all its membership, both clerical and lay, and

WHEREAS, The American churches in foreign countries have been from their beginning self-supporting, and represent a most influential and steadily increasing element in the Church's life, therefore

Resolved, That it is the sense of this conference that a fair representation, both clerical and lay, in the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A. should be given to these churches, and that the General Convention be respectfully petitioned to grant the same.

Resolved, That the bishop in charge be and hereby is respectfully requested to convoke a convocation of all the clergy and representatives of the laity, at a time and place to be arranged with the secretary of the conference, before the next meeting of the General Convention, for the purpose of choosing one clerical and one lay delegate, to be presented to the House of Deputies of the General Convention, at its next meeting, as the official representatives of the Church in foreign countries.

II WHEREAS, The present system of Episcopal oversight for the churches in foreign countries—exercised at a distance of from four to five thousand miles, at the nearest, and subject to change every three years or oftener—was devised when but one chapel had come into existence, and that one was without any permanent dwelling place, and

WHEREAS, The churches abroad have now increased to six, all of them owning consecrated church buildings, which represent an aggregate of Church property greater than that of some of our home jurisdictions ; therefore

Resolved, That it is the conviction of this conference, that the system of Episcopal oversight, as there devised, is no longer equal to the greatly increased importance and reality of the work done by the churches abroad, and that the Presiding Bishop and the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A. be therefore respectfully but earnestly petitioned to consider seriously whether some better provision cannot be made for the Episcopal oversight of the churches in foreign countries.

Resolved, That the president of the conference be requested to convey to the Presiding Bishop its assurance that, while the American churches in foreign countries remain under the Episcopal government and jurisdiction of the Presiding Bishop of Protestant Epis-

copal churches in the U. S. A., as ordered by the existing Canon, in order to avoid the unnecessary trouble and great expense of special Episcopal visitation by a bishop delegate appointed for three years, the churches abroad will be content with such Episcopal ministrations as can be supplied from time to time by bishops of our communion, who may be visiting Europe.

REFORMATION IN FRANCE.—APPEAL TO CHURCHMEN.

At the meeting of the House of Bishops, October 27, 1887, the bishops in council, unanimously, 'renewed their expression of sympathy and confidence in the work of reform in France, conducted upon the old Gallican lines,' and appointed the Bishops of Western New York, North Carolina and New York as a committee 'to express in such manner as they may deem best, the attitude of the bishops toward this movement.'

Thus has been laid on us the heavy task of pleading in behalf of a work too little known to be appreciated, but which is thoroughly understood by your bishops, and by many of them by personal inquiry and inspection on the spot. Our appeal is not of personal origin with ourselves.

On undertaking this work we made a modest claim for help, which was so far responded to, that important aid reached the good Père, last summer, and a good beginning was made.

In the present circumstances, we confine ourselves to the single effort to sustain the Church in the Rue d'Arras, which, for the coming year, will require \$3000. Of this sum, however, a considerable portion has been already raised and sent forward to the committee (Americans) in Paris, under whose direction every dollar is expended. The humble but devout people of the parish raise all that can be asked from them, in the way of supplying the contingent expenses, after the rent of the building and the support of the rector are secured. There are two clerical assistants besides sextons, etc., to be provided for. Contributions sent to Julien T. Davies, Esq., 32 Nassau Street, New York, will be duly acknowledged, from time to time, in *The (New York) Churchman*.

A. CLEVELAND COXE,
T. B. LYMAN,
H. C. POTTER.

New York, March 14, 1889.

University Intelligence.

AT a meeting of the Overseers and Trustees of the Philadelphia Divinity School, March 19, the Rev. James De Wolfe Perry, D.D., rector of Calvary Church, Germantown, was elected Professor of Homiletics to supply the vacancy caused by the death of the Rev. Dr. Matson Meier-Smith.

THE Board of Trustees of the General Theological Semi-

nary, on January 9, elected the Rev. Dr. E. H. Jewett, Rector of Trinity Church, Conn., to the chair of Pastoral Theology, to succeed the Rev. W. E. Eigenbrodt, who has filled this position for twenty-eight years and has now resigned. The chair of Dogmatic Theology will be filled at the June meeting of the board. The nomination of the Rev. John H. Hopkins, D.D., to the alumni professorship was laid over to the June meeting.

A BOARDING SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, under the direction of the Rev. Thos. W. Haskins, has been established at Glendale, California. In location, accessibility, and facilities for thorough mental and other training it is unsurpassed. It is spoken of in the highest terms by the local papers and at Los Angeles, which is near by, and very deep interest is felt in it. It will accommodate one hundred boarding pupils.

ON Thursday, January 10, an interesting service was held in the chapel of the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago, by Bishop McLaren, when six probationists were admitted as students in the institution. After the service the Bishop made an impressive address to the new students, mainly devoted to the necessity of deepening the spiritual life. The Bishop remarked that he had no sympathy with the wail of some alarmists that the young men of the Church were not willing to serve at her altars; on the contrary, he believed that the time was near at hand when there would be an abundant supply of candidates for the sacred ministry, and in view of that fact, he felt the necessity of insisting upon the cultivation of personal holiness by those who were looking forward to the priesthood.

THE Governors of King's College, Windsor, N.S., have formally accepted and acknowledged in suitable terms the gift of \$3000 from Rev. Jacob I. S. Mountain, D.C.L., to form the nucleus for the endowment of a professional chair. It was left to the board to decide upon the special object of this generous gift. Many years ago a small sum was founded for the endowment of an "Inglis memorial" chair of Pastoral Theology. This fund is now acquiring gratifying dimensions, and in a few years it will be sufficient to carry out the wishes of the original donors. The library hall is now completely restored and presents a pleasing contrast to what might have been noticed at the last encœnia. About \$4000 has been spent on improvements on the college property at Windsor. It is further rumored that there will soon be announced permanent changes and additions of a very progressive character, and such as will commend themselves to every well-wisher of progress in education and culture.

HOBART HALL AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

Various references have been made from time to time in the Church press to Hobart Hall at the University of Michigan. These references of course give no adequate idea what the institution is and what special ends it is intended to subserve. In this communication, I desire simply to set forth its practical workings. These, in my judgment, will best exhibit the character and scope of what the papers call 'Bishop Harris's idea.'

First. There is an organisation named the Hobart Guild. The following extracts from its Constitution will explain this better than anything else can :

'This organisation shall be known as 'The Hobart Guild at the University of Michigan.'

'The object of the Guild shall be to bring the Episcopal and other students of the university into acquaintance with one another by social and other gatherings ; to promote the spiritual welfare of its members by stated meetings for worship, for the study of Holy Scripture, of Church history, of Christian literature, and by mutual counsel and encouragement in the performance of Christian duties ; and to provide courses of lectures, from time to time, as suggested by the bishop of the Diocese.

'All persons connected with the University as students and such members of the Ann Arbor High School as may be proposed to the Executive Committee by the Rector of S. Andrew's church, shall be eligible to active membership.

'The Rector, Wardens and Vestrymen of S. Andrew's parish, Ann Arbor, and the professors in the University of Michigan who are attached to the Protestant Episcopal Church, shall be members *ex-officio*.

'The officers of the guild shall be a president *ex-officio*, who shall be the Rector of S. Andrew's parish, Ann Arbor ; a president, a vice-president, a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, and treasurer. Excepting the president *ex-officio*, these officers shall be elected for a period of one year ; the election to occur at the first meeting held after the opening of the spring recess of the university.

'The visitors of the guild shall be the Bishop of Michigan and the Bishop of Western Michigan. To them the secretary shall report the result of every election of officers, together with the condition of the guild at the time of such report.

'No change in the Constitution and by-laws shall be valid until such proposed change has been submitted to the Bishop of the Diocese in which the University is situated and received his approval in writing. On any occasion of doubt and difficulty in the conduct of the guild, the matter shall be referred to him by the Executive Committee, and his decision shall be final. He shall have authority to summon the guild to meet him on the occasion of any visitation he may make at the university town.

'There shall be an Executive Committee, consisting of the president *ex-officio*, two vestrymen of S. Andrew's church, Ann Arbor, three professors of the University attached to the Episcopal Church, and five undergraduates of the university. This committee shall be appointed by the president *ex officio*, with the approval of the Bishop of the Diocese, at the time of the annual election of officers. The powers and duties of this committee shall be :

1. 'To receive all applications for membership, and if approved by it, to present them to the guild for election.

2. 'To have the care, government and supervision of Hobart Hall subject to the deed of trust, as held by the vestry of S. Andrew's church.

3. 'To arrange for lectures and other exercises of the guild, to plan and act for it in the intervals between its meetings, and to have the general management of its financial and other affairs, and to divide itself into such sub-committees as it may deem necessary.

4. 'To have sole power to deal with all cases of misdemeanor or violations of the rules and regulations of the hall, and when in their judgment it may be necessary, the sole power to suspend, or expel, either from the privileges of the hall, or from membership in the guild.

'The Bishop of the Diocese shall have power to call a meeting of this committee, through the president *ex-officio*, at any time that he may desire, and ask for such information respecting the guild as he may wish to obtain.'

Second. There is a building called Hobart Hall. It is a substantial structure situated on the most eligible site in the city, at the corner of Huron and State Streets, about three blocks from the University grounds. It has three stories, each of which is devoted to a special use. On the first floor there is a gymnasium and bowling-alley, lavatory, etc. ; on the second floor, parlors, library and reading-room, and adjoining these dining-room and kitchen, etc. ; on the third floor, a hall, capable of seating some four hundred persons, and the curator's office. This building is open every weekday from 9 A.M. until 9.30 P.M. for the use of the members. On Sundays the parlors and library-rooms are open from 2 to 6 P.M. The building is under the immediate supervision of the curator, the Rev. William Galpin. He comes in daily personal contact with the students and in many ways shows himself their friend and counsellor. On the social occasions of the parish and the guild, the students are brought into relations with the best elements in our community, and a refining influence is thus thrown round them.

Third. There are three courses of lectures provided each year.

(a.) The Baldwin lectures for the "Defense and Confirmation of the Faith." They were endowed to the full amount required, viz., \$10,000, by Governor and Mrs. H. P. Baldwin of Detroit. It is one of the conditions that they must be published as soon as delivered. Two volumes have already been issued, viz., *Institutes of Christian History*, by Bishop Cox, and *Witnesses to Christ*, by the Rev. Dr. Clark of Trinity College, Toronto. Thus, in addition to the

immediate good done at the time of delivery, an annual contribution is made to our stock of American Church literature.

(*b.*) A course on 'The Evidences of Christianity.'

(*c.*) A course on 'Biblical Literature.'

Each of these is to consist of twenty lectures, thus making one for every week of the academic year. A partial endowment of \$5,000 has been made for '*b*' by Mrs. Powers of Philadelphia. No provision is made as yet for '*c*.'

These two courses, however, are being given this year on Sunday evenings by the Rector of S. Andrew's church.

It is a fact to be noted that all the lectures from the beginning have been remarkably well attended, and have been productive of much good, not only among the students, but in this community at large. They are intended to be supplemental to the university course, and to give such instruction as a State institution can not give, or at least does not give.

The following list of committees will give the everyday workings of the guild, so far as the students themselves are more particularly concerned :

1. Committee on Entertainments.
2. Committee on Receptions.
3. Committee on Attentions to Sick Members.
4. Committee on Attentions to Strangers.
5. Committee on Sermons.
6. Committee on Mission Work.

The religious privileges offered the students are as follows :

1. Daily service in Hobart Hall.
2. Holy Communion on all Sundays and festival days of the Church.
3. Three Sunday services in S. Andrew's church.
4. The lectures in Hobart Hall.
5. The constant pastoral care of the clergy of S. Andrew's parish.

The good effects of the guild have been made manifest in the following ways :

(*a.*) A very marked increase in the number of students attending the services of the Church, both of those who have and those who have not been brought up in it.

(*b.*) A growing interest in all matters pertaining to the Church.

(*c.*) A missionary spirit, exhibiting itself in starting and maintaining at considerable self-sacrifice mission points in the neighborhood of Ann Arbor.

(*d.*) A desire on the part of young men to give themselves to the sacred ministry.

The real property of the guild is held in trust by the Vestry of S. Andrew's church, Ann Arbor, for the purposes named in the deed.

The endowments are managed by a board of trustees created for the purpose by Bishop Harris, of which Gov. H. P. Baldwin is treasurer. The several endowments are for the

(*a.*) Lectureships.

(*b.*) Library.

(c.) Current expenses of Hobart Hall.

None of these are as yet complete, and additions would be most gratefully received. Contributions can be sent to the treasurer for any of the above objects.

I hope these words will give an intelligent idea of what the Hobart Guild is. Having been identified with it from its inception, I am able to bear my testimony to the beneficent ends it has already accomplished. On this subject I knew the inner heart of my lamented Diocesan perhaps better than any one, and, humanly speaking, it is a mystery of mysteries that he should have been taken from us almost at the beginning of its work. Educated as I was in a small Church college, S. James's, Maryland, I am compelled to say that with the facilities furnished by the Hobart Guild and S. Andrew's church, I do not see why a student here should not have all that I had in a religious way, with the added advantage of a much wider literary culture. However this may be, one thing is sure, that 'Bishop Harris's idea' is the only possible idea for the Church in Michigan.

SAMUEL EARP.

UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH.

The University of the South at Sewanee has won a great victory in the Supreme Court of Errors and Appeals of Tennessee, in the consolidated cases of the University of the South *vs.* A. I. Skidmore, Trustee, and Franklin County *vs.* the University of the South, establishing its immunity from county and state taxes on one thousand acres of its possessions, so long as owned by the University, although rented out to tenants. The Hon. Horace H. Lurton, one of the associate justices of the Court, being incapacitated from sitting, he being one of the trustees of the University, ex-Chancellor Edward H. East was chosen to sit in his place, and he delivered the opinion of the court, from which the following is taken :

The University of the South filed its original injunction bill against A. I. Skidmore, Trustee of Franklin County, enjoining him from proceeding to assess for taxation for State purposes certain property belonging to the complainant. Franklin County filed its bill against the University of the South to collect taxes, which had been assessed against the University, and to have the lien of the county declared by decree, and the taxes collected by sale of the property, or otherwise.

The University of the South was chartered by the Legislature of Tennessee on the sixth day of January, 1858, and is under the control and patronage of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

The pleadings and evidence disclose the following state of facts :

The tenth section of the charter of this University is as follows :
 'SEC. 10. *Be it further enacted*, That said University may hold and possess as much land as may be necessary for the buildings, and to such an extent as may be sufficient to protect said institution and stu-

dents thereof from intrusion of evil-minded persons who may settle near said institution ; said land, however, not to exceed ten thousand acres, one thousand acres of which, including buildings and other effects and property of said corporation, shall be exempt from taxation so long as said land belongs to said University.'

The one thousand acres have been laid off, as designated by metes and bounds, and upon this the buildings of the University have been erected, together with professors' houses, etc. A part of this one thousand acres, along the line of railroad, has been subdivided into town-lots, and streets have been laid off and graded. Along these, dwelling-houses and storehouses and a hotel have been erected, and rented to persons upon leases extending from one year to thirty-three years, and with renewal options given to the tenants in some instances, making in all three hundred houses, and constituting the village of Sewanee. These lands and the entire property of the corporation were given to it by liberal donors, originally or from time to time.

The assessments complained of were made, and sought to be made, upon the one thousand acres of real estate and improvements, so rented or leased, excluding therefrom the University buildings proper, and a church, but including the houses of professors. With the exclusions mentioned, the assessing officers seek to assess these one thousand acres and the improvements thereon for the current year, and also under the special statute of the State passed in 1885 and amended in 1887, empowering 'back assessments' for the years 1884, 1885 and 1886, as follows : For 1884, \$98,710; for 1885, \$99,360; for 1886, \$105,250; and for the current year, 1887, about \$100,000.

It is shown that all emoluments and profits arising from leases, amounting to some twelve or fifteen hundred dollars per year, were used and devoted by the corporation to the purposes of the University, and not otherwise. The University is evidently seeking by these leases to raise an income, endowment or sustentation fund with which to carry on the institution, and promote and extend its usefulness by a judicious use of its real estate, and turning back to the institution all incomes and rents so derived, to be used for the purposes of the institution, and this makes the property contribute to these ends.

It is claimed that this action of the corporation, in using its property as stated, is a use not contemplated by the Legislature, and deprives it of the exemption from taxation to which, under the tenth section of the charter, it would be entitled. The chancellor decreed that the university 'was not exempt from taxation for the one thousand acres except to the extent of so many of the lots assessed as were occupied by the officers, professors, and agents of said University, and that all other lots upon said one thousand acres are subject to taxation,' and he dismissed the injunction as to the one, and made it perpetual as to the other. The court gave Franklin County a decree for the amount of taxes claimed to be due it, upon the same basis.

After deciding that the Legislature had the power under the state constitution of the year 1834, which was in force when the charter was granted, to make the exemption, its scope is laid down as follows:

The contention of the State and county seems to be that the one thousand acres would be exempt from taxation so long as the land remained as it was at the time that the charter was granted—unproductive, and standing in primeval forest, or was used in some way in connection with the object of the institution, viz., the training and education of young men. Under the tenth section of this charter, as quoted, the exemption is not made to depend upon the *use* to which the land might be put, but related to the *title*, 'so long as such lands belong to said university.' . . . It is the legal and moral duty of this corporation so to use the property and assets belonging to it as best to promote the ends and purposes for which it was created, and if, by leasing it, an income to the University can be created, and by this income it is enabled to extend its usefulness, it is the right and *duty* of this corporation so to do. . . . The decree of the chancellor will be reversed, and the assessments made will be declared void, because the property is exempt from taxation for state and county purposes so long as it belongs to the University; and the injunction against A. I. Skidmore, Trustee, will be reinstated and made perpetual, and the bill of Franklin County dismissed. The defendants, A. I. Skidmore and the County of Franklin, and the sureties of the latter will pay all costs.

The Hon. A. T. McNeal of Bolivar, Tennessee, was the counsel of the University of the South in the Supreme Court, and argued the case with consummate ability.

WOLFE HALL, DENVER, COLORADO.

Wolfe Hall, Denver, was opened February 28. Promptly at two o'clock the services of Benediction were begun by Bishop Spalding in the presence of a large crowd of people from the highest ranks of Denver society. A procession was formed of the scholars, which marched into the refectory singing a hymn and preceded by the following clergymen, clad in their robes: Bishop Spalding, Dean Hart, the Revs. Messrs. Bradshaw, Wallace, Bryne, Newton, Hood, Edgar, Arundel, and Duryea, chaplain of Wolfe Hall. On the ground floor of Wolfe Hall is the refectory, or dining-room, a large apartment capable of seating more than twice as many boarding scholars as the school has at present. It is light and cheery, being neatly finished in hard wood. Just off of the refectory is the kitchen, a room fitted with a huge range, and all the conveniences needed for the preparation of wholesome food. On this floor also are rooms which are used for various domestic purposes, and in some of which it is intended to open a kindergarten. The next floor above is devoted to many purposes. Here will be found

the office at the left of the entrance hall. Just opposite is the room of the Eclectic Club, an association intended to provide its members with literary recreation. Opening from the latter are a library and a reference room, where books other than stories, etc., are kept. On the same floor are the teachers' parlors. There are three of these communicating with each other, so as to make the three almost the same as one. There is also a public reception room on this floor, a number of study halls, reception rooms, etc. Up one flight more the visitor finds no less than ten music rooms, a piano in nearly every one of them, a neat chapel, though this will soon give way to a chapel which is to be built on the grounds; a number of sleeping rooms and more reception rooms. On the third floor is the studio, a light apartment intended for classes in sculpture, painting, decorating, etc. This is fitted with windows overhead to admit suitable light for workers in art, and is provided with plaster models, studies in oil and water colors, pottery and many other objects appropriate to the nature of the room. Sleeping-rooms and the "auditorium" occupy the rest of this floor. The latter is a large room which is used at present for calisthenic exercises and recreation. It will be fitted up as a gymnasium. Wolfe Hall is now in its twenty-first year. In 1887 the new site was secured, and only about a year ago was ground broken for the building which was dedicated yesterday. There are thirty lots in the property and the edifice has a frontage of 250 feet. It is built of Colorado lava stone, and from its elevated position commands a magnificent view toward every point of the compass.

Benefactions and Endowments.

THE Mackonochie memorial fund now amounts to £5,130.

THE total amount of subscriptions received toward the Pusey Memorial Fund, up to the end of 1888, was £35,042 8s. 7d.

MELBOURNE CATHEDRAL, Australia, which will shortly be opened, has cost £160,000. The site, the gift of the government, is said to be worth £800,000.

THE third account of the executors and trustees under the will of Asa Packer, show that the legacies paid to the close of 1888 were as follows: The Lehigh University, \$386,746.75; Lehigh University Library, \$70,537.55; S. Luke's Hospital, \$52,590; Muhlenberg College, \$5400; Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church, \$6030; S. Mark's Church, Mauch Chunk, \$5400.

THE Rev. Dr. Hodges, of S. Paul's, Baltimore, has increased the Rhodes Legacy Fund of that parish to \$4000, the interest of which is at the disposal of the bishop for the theological education of young men.

AT Bonn the late vicar-general, Professor Knoodt, has left a sum of £500 to the Old Catholic congregation there, besides a considerable legacy to Bishop Reinkens, the interest of which is to be devoted to the general purposes of the Old Catholic Church.

S. ANN'S CHURCH, New York, the Rev. Dr. Gallaudet, Rector, has received from a person, who desires not to be known, \$11,000, and the burden of debt, so long resting upon it, is entirely removed. The condition of the gift is that S. Ann's should be a free church, with a permanent mission to deaf mutes.

THE Cathedral, Albany, N. Y., has received from England a pair of brass candlesticks, made after the pattern of those in S. Paul's, London, which are in silver. They are massive and elegant, and hold one large candle each, which are lighted at all early celebrations, and latterly at the late celebration also.

MR. J. J. ASTOR has given \$150,000 for the erection of a new building for the Cancer Hospital in New York, which makes \$300,000 in all which he has contributed to that object. The late Mrs. Gen. Callum left by her will \$50,000 for the erection of a chapel for the hospital.

THE "Giesy Memorial Library" has been presented to the Virginia Theological Seminary. Mr. W. D. Baldwin, Treasurer of the Fund, has received contributions and pledges to the amount of \$442.55. The rector invites his parishioners, some of whom have already contributed, to aid him in making up the balance of the proposed sum of \$500.

BISHOP PARET has had the pleasure of receiving from a member of the parish of the Epiphany, Washington, the sum of \$500 toward the cause of theological education; from a member of Emmanuel parish, Cumberland, \$100; from a Baltimore parish, \$18.20; and from Reistertown parish, \$10, of which one-half is for the permanent fund.

ACCORDING to the sixteenth annual report of the Church Mission to Deaf Mutes, New York, the sum of \$17,000 has been expended for the farm and repairs and furniture at the Gallaudet Home, near Poughkeepsie. The mission is in excellent condition, having received many generous gifts, while the mortgage has been reduced from \$15,000 to \$8000.

MISS MARY GARRETT, of Baltimore, is erecting a building for the higher education of girls at a cost of \$200,000.

THE Rev. Dr. C. F. Hoffman is building a church for the parish of All Angels, New York City, at a cost of \$200,000.

MR. GEORGE BLISS, of New York City, has built a chapel for the City Mission on Blackwell's Island at a cost of \$75,000.

MRS. WILLIAM GAMMELL, of Providence, has given \$50,000 to build a church at Olneyville, Rhode Island, as a memorial of a deceased son.

MR. S. V. WILLIAMSON, of Philadelphia, whose gift of \$2,500,000 for the establishment of training schools for boys has brought his name into marked prominence, has left to the Episcopal Hospital \$50,000, the Church Home at Angora \$25,000, the Lincoln Institute \$25,000, and the Educational Home for Boys, \$50,000.

MR. JOHN W. NOBLE of Anniston, Alabama, is building, in a new and growing part of the city, a memorial church at a cost of \$75,000, to be known as S. Michael and All Angels. Workmen are now engaged on the roof of the church. The outside work on the rectory and Sister house is about completed. The parish, we understand, is very largely made up of laboring men and their families.

NASHOTAH has received a gift of \$6000 from a friend in S. Mark's parish, Philadelphia, to be used in erecting a professor's house. It will be occupied by the Rev. Dr. Clarke, with his family. The mission has now three such houses, occupied respectively by the President and his family, Dr. and Mrs. Adams, and the widow of the late Dr. Cole, with Miss Cole. Dr. Riley remains at the refectory. Eventually the house now occupied by Mrs. Cole will be used as a professor's house.

THE building erected by Mr. John Jacob Astor, on Mott Street, as a memorial of his wife, has been turned over to the Children's Aid Society and formally opened. It is 33 feet by 76 feet and five stories high, and cost more than \$60,000. It will be devoted mostly to the education of the children in charge of the society, which has two other school buildings in the city, one of them being the gift of the late Miss Catherine L. Wolfe. Mrs. Astor, in her lifetime, was much interested in the work of the society, and by her charity hundreds of children now have happy homes in the West. In the hall of the building is a tablet inscribed: "This building has been erected in affectionate remembrance of Mrs. Charlotte Augusta Astor, by her husband, John Jacob Astor, New York, 1888."

THE gift of \$1000 to the General Theological Seminary, New York, by the Rev. Chas. W. Morrill of the Diocese of New York, has been the means of securing a very valuable nucleus for a library of general literature. The expenditure of the money was entrusted to a committee consisting of the Rev. Dr. Richey, and Messrs. Wm. Bispham and L. W. Gorham. They have already purchased over 700 excellent works of history and fiction, and the students have access to them in the library annex.

A COMMITTEE of gentlemen have purchased the ruins of Kirkstall Abbey for £10,000, with a view to handing them over to the Corporation of Leeds (England), in order that they may be preserved from the sacrilegious hands of the speculator who might turn them into a casino. On more than one occasion of late years, solemn services have been held within these hallowed ruins, and a town so conspicuous for its Churchmanship would confer no small honor on itself if its citizens restored the abbey to its original pious uses.

A MEMBER of Mt. Calvary, Baltimore, has contributed the sum of \$8000 for a sailors' ward in the Church Home and Infirmary in that city; two members of S. Paul's parish, \$5000 for a woman's ward; another member of S. Paul's, \$5000 for a boys' ward; a member of Grace Church, \$5200 for a girls' ward; members of Christ Church, Baltimore, \$1000 for the building of two rooms; and still another member of S. Paul's, \$5000 for one room; in all, \$24,700; \$20,000 are yet to be provided for, in order to meet the expenses of the recent additions and improvements. The cost of a single room is \$500; the furnishing of a room, \$50; of a cot, \$30. Thirteen rooms are taken and several cots. Miss Bradford, at the home, will give information and receive pledges and gifts.

The Reverend W. W. Williams, D.D., has contributed thirteen copies of Cheyne's "Commentary on Isaiah" to the library of the Virginia Theological Seminary; the Rev. H. Melville Jackson, D.D., and others (seven volumes, quarto), of the "Great Survey of Western Palestine"; the family of the late Rev. Dr. S. H. Giesy, 1500 volumes, and Professor Angus Crawford six original tablets of Babylonian discovery, a complete set of the racial photographs from the Egyptian monuments and numerous casts of Babylonian tablets, including "Shalmaneser's Obelisk," the "Egg of Sargon," the "Flood Tablet" and "Cylinders of Nebuchadnezzar." This library now numbers 14,000 volumes. The seminary has now eleven in the senior, seventeen in the junior, and twelve in the middle class.

AT a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the American Church Building Fund Commission, held on March 28, the following loans were voted to aid in erecting church edifices: Mission at Buena Vista, Diocese of Colorado, \$1000; Mission at Sutherland Springs, Wilson County, missionary jurisdiction of Western Texas, \$350; Mission at Sealy, Austin County, Texas, \$200; S. John's church, Florence, Diocese of South Carolina, \$800; S. Barnabas's mission, South Bay City, diocese of Michigan, \$500; Church of S. Paul-by-the-Sea, Paplo Beach, diocese of Florida, \$600; and Normal School, Lawrenceville, diocese of Virginia, \$400.

MR. ROSWELL P. FLOWER, the distinguished New York banker, and Anson R. Flower, one of his brothers, recently offered to build a church for Trinity parish, Watertown, New York. At a meeting of the vestry on Jan. 22, the offer was accepted, and the contract was made immediately. The church will be built of native limestone, with terra-cotta trimmings, and will be 150 feet long, and in its widest part 117 feet wide. The spire will be 156 feet high. Provision has been made for a separate baptistry and organ-chamber, and the church will be connected by a cloistered passage-way with Trinity House, which was built chiefly by the gifts of the same men. The church will be Norman-Gothic in style of architecture, after plans by W. P. Wentworth, of Boston. The cost will be \$55,000, and work will be begun early in the spring. The contract requires the completion of the building by June 1, 1890.

MR. GEORGE W. CHILDS, of *The Ledger*, Philadelphia, whose private as well as public benefactions have caused his name to be revered in all parts of our land, many of which have been international in their character and influence for good on England and our own country, has added still another to the list of his good deeds. The London *Guardian* says:

A reredos has been placed in the Church of SS. Thomas and Clement, Winchester, under interesting circumstances, connecting Old and New England. A friend of the rector (the Rev. A. B. Sole), Mr. George W. Childs, of Philadelphia, presented him with a check to defray the cost of a reredos to commemorate Bishops Lancelot Andrewes and Ken. The stonework is from a design by Mr. Herbert Kitchen, and is of early English character. In the panels are fixed paintings by ladies of Winchester. In the centre is CHRIST ascending and blessing; on each side are angels with the chalice and "golden crown," and on the outer panels are, on the South, SS. Thomas, the Apostle, and Clement, the third Bishop of Rome, martyred in the time of Trajan, each with emblems—the spear and the anchor; in the North are representations of Andrewes standing with his pastoral staff and Ken kneeling, both vested in Reformation

robes, and with mitres at their feet. The pastoral staff indicates that Andrewes died in office, whereas Ken, from scruples of conscience, died out of office, being a Nonjuror. Close to this panel is another in the wall over the credence table, which bears, on a cross-surmounted globe delineating England and America, the following words—*Stat Crux dum volvitur orbis*, followed by this inscription :

"In token of the unity of spirit and bond of peace between the Churches of the Old and New World, this reredos is dedicated by George W. Childs, of Philadelphia, to the memory of two Bishops of the Church universal, both connected with this cathedral city—Bishop Lancelot Andrewes and Bishop Ken.—MDCCCLXXXIX."

The lower panels have also paintings of angels with musical instruments typical of praise. These, like the upper tier, are by Winchester ladies. The reredos was unveiled on Friday at choral evensong. The preacher was the Dean of Worcester.

ONE of the grandest projects of this age is that of Mr. A. J. Drexel, who has just set aside \$1,500,000 for the establishment of an Industrial College for Women at Wayne, Pa. Wayne is built upon an estate purchased and devoted to the creation of a model town by Mr. A. J. Drexel and Mr. George W. Childs. Under their direction it has become, within seven years, one of the most beautiful and desirable of the many pleasant suburbs of Philadelphia. He has also purchased the Louella Mansion, which will form the home of those sharing the benefit of his munificence, which is not intended to be merely a charity ; \$100 a year is to be the tuition fee, which will cover all charges. A refectory and administrative, or college, buildings are to be erected, which when completed will afford ample facilities for young women to gain such knowledge of trades and occupations as will enable them to earn respectable livelihoods. By numerous scholarships ample provision is to be made for deserving ones. Those between the ages of thirteen and nineteen are they for whom its provisions are intended. Inability to reside at the college has been considered, and such will be provided with tickets to and from Wayne. The Bishop of the Diocese is the president. Owing to the lease of the Louella Mansion not expiring until November, the college will not be in full operation before the fall of 1890. The daughters of clergymen are to have the first claim upon its benefits.

Before Mr. Drexel had made known his intention to found such a school, the Rev. Dr. Thomas K. Conrad selected Wayne as a suitable place in which to build a church as a memorial to his father and mother, Mr. and Mrs. Harry Conrad, of Philadelphia.

A parish had already been incorporated at Wayne, under the name of S. Mary's, and ample ground, on Lancaster Av-

enue, opposite the Louella Mansion, was appropriated by Messrs. Drexel and Childs for the future church. The vestry of S. Mary's, upon learning Rev. Dr. Conrad's purpose, elected him Rector of the parish. To the sum appropriated for the Memorial Church Mr. Drexel has added \$5000 to provide two hundred and fifty sittings for the school. For this purpose the transepts are intended. The church will accommodate, all together, a congregation of five or six hundred. On the part of the congregation a parish building will be erected, connecting with the church by a corridor and portecochère, and containing ample and well-provided rooms for the various needs of Sunday-schools, lectures, and social guilds.

Statistical Information.

SINCE Bishop Stubbs was consecrated in April, 1884, he has confirmed in the Diocese of Chester, 25,054 persons, the proportions of males to females being about two to three.

It appears from the Year Book of the Church of England, that in 1875 the number of persons confirmed in England was under 138,000, while for 1888 the corresponding total was over 217,000; an increase in thirteen years of nearly 58 per cent., which is almost four times as great as the growth of the population.

FROM Advent 1887 to Advent 1888, the conversion of twenty-seven ministers to the Church were noted as follows: Methodist, 8; Baptists, 5; Roman Catholic, 4; Presbyterian, 3; Congregationalist, 2; German Reformed, 1; Reformed Episcopal, 1; Lutheran, 1; and two, denomination not ascertained. It is stated by an observer during the past eleven years, that the average of such accessions for that time is fully twenty-six each year; but it is probable that many cases of conversion are overlooked.

ROMAN CATHOLICS do not hold their own in England, but are steadily retrograding in the proportion of the nation, as they grow at no more than one-third of the rate of the whole community. In the Catholic Directory for the current year their numbers are calculated at only 6000 more than those of 1888. But if they had increased by births alone at the same rate (1.30 per cent.) as the rest of the population did—and it is to be remembered that the large Anglo-Irish element of their body is exceptionally prolific—their gain from this single source, and exclusive of converts and immigrants, should have been 18,000. Consequently they have lost, somehow or other, 12,000 in a single year.

THE statistics of the Diocese of Arkansas for 1887-1888, as given in the journal, are as follows: Clergy, 34; candidates, present number, 4; lay readers, 20; whole number of parishes, chapels, and missions, 86; church edifices, 60; rectories, 21; churches consecrated, 1. Baptisms—children, 507, adults, 56, total, 563; confirmed, 367; present number of confirmed persons, 5212; families, 3193; communicants—present number, 4438; marriages, 141; funerals, 308; Sunday schools—officers and teachers, 490; pupils 3953; contributions received, \$96,033.88.

THE summary of statistics of the Diocese of Albany for 1888 are as follows: Clergy (Bishop 1, Priests 117, Deacons 8) 126; Ordinations (Deacons 2, Priests 1) 3; candidates for Orders (for Deacons' Orders only 6; for Priests 11) 17. Postulants, 11; Lay Readers, 24; Parishes in union with Convention, 100, not in union, 16; Missions, 16; Churches, 116; Rectories, 60; confirmations, 1058; offerings, parochial, \$282,044.84; Diocesan, \$39,059.02; general, \$11,703.05; total \$332,806.91.

THE CHURCH IN TORONTO.

The Evangelical Churchman, in commenting on the "Position of the Church in Toronto," says:

The Church census, lately taken by the *Toronto Telegram*, though in some particulars obviously inaccurate, on the whole supplies valuable data for serious consideration. A recapitulation gives the following facts: Number of churches and chapels, 35; number of clergy, 52; total salaries, \$35,620; average Sunday collections, \$1299.20; average yearly income, \$125,970; debt, \$282,900; total value of property, \$985,600; seating capacity, 16,785; morning attendance on day of census, 4410; evening attendance, 7288; Sunday-school attendance, 6909. It should be stated that the day on which the census was taken was very wet, so that the attendance given does not represent a fair average. It does, however, nearly represent the average attendance of earnest Christians, who do not allow inclement weather to interfere with their worship in the house of God.

First, as to salaries. Adding the Rectory Fund to the total salaries, it will be found that the average amount our clergy receive is somewhat less than \$1000 per annum. Methodist ministers average over \$1500 per annum and Presbyterian ministers slightly under \$1800. The difference is to be accounted for by the fact that, in most of our churches, the Rectors have assistants who receive very small salaries, averaging not more than \$600 or \$700 per annum.

Next, as to the number of churches. We rank first with 35; Methodists, 27; Presbyterians, 24. But, after all, the true test of numerical strength is in the seating capacity. If the figures given are even approximately correct, as we have reason to believe they are, except in one or two instances, we are not so far in advance as

might be thought. The returns give to our 35 churches a total seating capacity of 16,785; to 27 Methodist churches 27,675; and to 24 Presbyterian churches, 17,290. These figures would seem to be not far astray proportionately, because the attendance by actual count on the day of the census was, in our own churches, both morning and evening, about 11,600; Methodist, 21,000; Presbyterian, 13,500.

The *Globe* took a similar census in 1882. We can not give its comparative figures exactly, but there is no doubt that, during the last eight years, our Church has made greater proportionate progress than any other, and in a few years the results will be much more apparent than they now are, owing to the new operations, just begun or in immediate contemplation. Then there is one thing to be taken into account, which can not be calculated in census returns. We have over fifty clergy ministering to a no greater church population than is compassed by twenty-seven Methodist and twenty-four Presbyterian ministers, that is, more than the two combined. Our parish work is far more thoroughly done. The Presbyterians and Methodists have to depend for much upon their laymen, and lay help, unless thoroughly organised, and conducted by well-trained men, is apt to be desultory and insufficient. We do not condemn lay work. Our Church suffers for the want of it, and we might well take a lesson from the Presbyterians, whose lay elders do regular and conscientious work, thereby saving their minister much that is mere serving of tables. If our city clergy had not curates they could not possibly overtake all the work which is left undone if they do not do it. It is well for our people that assistants can be obtained, and that they are content to live on a mere pittance.

In a comparative view the census is very favorable to us, far more so than was to be expected. The mere question of debt is an indication of our position. Leaving out S. James', which was not built as an ordinary parish church, our total debt is but little over \$200,000. The Methodists owe the enormous sum of over \$400,000, and the Presbyterians, cautious as they usually are, \$285,000. Our material position is, comparatively speaking, excellent. Let us not forget that there is a census which man can not take. How do we stand on God's census roll? Let us see to it that we come not behind there. Happy will that church be, though small on earth, that can present a full membership on the great day of the reckoning.

Ecclesiastical Courts.

TUESDAY, February 12, the most notable ecclesiastical trial in the English Church during the present century, and which doubtless will be more far-reaching in its results, was begun in the Library of Lambeth Palace. It was the formal opening of trial of the Bishop of Lincoln, before the Archbishop of Canterbury, for certain alleged breaches of the ceremonial

law of the Church, as laid down by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. A brief summary of the charges being as follows: (1) The use of Altar lights; (2) of the mixed chalice; (3 and 4) of the Eastward Position; (5) causing the *Agnus Dei* to be sung immediately after the Prayer of Consecration; (6) making the Sign of the Cross during the Absolution and Benediction; (7) ceremonially making the ablutions.

The members of the Court are as follows: The Archbishop of Canterbury; Episcopal Assessors, the Bishops of London, Oxford, Salisbury, and Winchester, and Sir J. Parker Deane, Vicar-General.

Dr. Tristram and Sir Horace Davey as counsel, and Mr. Wainwright as Proctor for the Promoters, and Sir Walter Phillimore, Mr. C. B. Kempe, and Mr. F. H. Jeune, as Counsel, and Mr. Edgar Francis Jenkins and Mr. George Henry Brooke as Proctors for the Bishop of Lincoln.

The Archbishop opened the Court with prayer, using the first two Collects for Good Friday and that for Whitsun Day, and the LORD'S prayer.

The Archbishop then said: Has his Lordship the Bishop of Lincoln anything to say before the Court is opened?

The Bishop of Lincoln, who occupied a seat at the end of the counsel's table, rose, and bowing to the bench said: "My Lord Archbishop, I appear before your Grace in deference to the citation which I have received, and in accordance with my oath of 'due reverence and obedience' to your Grace and the See of Canterbury; but I appear under protest, desiring, with all respect, to question the jurisdiction which your Grace proposes to exercise. I have been summoned to answer certain charges preferred against me before your Grace or your Grace's Vicar-General; and if it should appear that such is the canonical court before which one of your Grace's suffragans ought to be tried for such alleged spiritual offenses, and wherein such offenses can be fully and freely adjudicated upon on their merits, I shall be ready and thankful to answer for myself. But your Grace will pardon me if I submit that, as an accused person, and also in view of the grave issues involved in this case, and of their bearing on the whole Church of England, as well as upon the position of all your Grace's suffragans, I feel obliged, at the outset, to do what in me lies towards securing for myself, and therein for all members of the English Episcopate, that form of ecclesiastical procedure by which your Grace's Metropolitan authority can be most fittingly and regularly exercised. There can be no doubt that, in accordance with the practice of the Primitive Church, the most proper method of the trial of a Bishop in such cases would be before the Metropolitan with the comprovincial Bishops. It may also be held that a trial before the Archbishop as sole judge might impair the rightful position of your Grace's suffragans, both individually and in relation to the Province. I would,

therefore, humbly pray your Grace to allow me to be heard by counsel on this point, whether your Grace's jurisdiction would not be more properly exercised with regard to the matters charged against me by your Grace as Metropolitan with the comprovincial Bishops, such matters to be adjudicated upon on their merits by your Grace with the advice and consent of the Bishops of the Province; and whether, this being the case, I ought not to be dismissed from making any answer to the present citation. Having made this statement, I beg most respectfully to appoint my Proctors, and leave all legal matters in their hands and those of my counsel.

Sir Walter Phillimore then asked for time to enter the formal protest. Tuesday, February 19, was fixed upon, when the Vicar-General held a sitting of the Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Royal Courts of Justice. At this session of the Court the following formal protest was presented by Sir Walter Phillimore:

'Before his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. The office of his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury promoted by Ernest de Lacy Read, William Brown, Felix Thomas Wilson, and John Marshall *v.* Right Reverend Edward Lord Bishop of Lincoln.

'The nineteenth day of February, in the year of our LORD, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-nine.

'On which day Brooks and Jenkins, referring to their appearance under protest for the Right Reverend Edward Lord Bishop of Lincoln in extension of such their protest, alleged that the said Lord Bishop of Lincoln is ready to pay all due reverence and obedience to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and to submit himself to his Metropolitan jurisdiction so far and in such form and manner as is allowed and required by his oath made in that behalf, and by the Laws, Canons, and Constitutions ecclesiastical of this Church and realm and of the Province of Canterbury. But they said that there was no jurisdiction to cite, and that the said Lord Bishop of Lincoln ought not to be cited to appear and answer in these proceedings, for the reasons following:

'(1) The said citation does not cite the Lord Bishop of Lincoln to appear in any court or in any proceedings whereof the said Laws, Canons, and Constitutions take cognizance.

'(2) By the said Laws, Canons, and Constitutions the said Lord Bishop of Lincoln is not bound and ought not to appear before or be tried by the said Lord Archbishop of Canterbury sitting alone, or to appear before or be tried by the Vicar-General of the said Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and the fact that the said Lord Archbishop of Canterbury proposes to sit with assessors does not confer a jurisdiction which he would not otherwise have.

'(3) By the said Laws, Canons, and Constitutions the said Lord Bishop of Lincoln, as a Bishop of the Province of Canterbury, ought not to be tried for the offenses (if any) with which he is charged in these proceedings save by the said Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,

together with the other Bishops of the said province, his comprovincials, assembled either in the Convocation of the said Province or otherwise.

'(4) The charges set forth in the citation are not such charges as by the said Laws, Canons, and Constitutions the said Lord Bishop of Lincoln is bound or ought to answer or be tried for before or by any court of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

'Wherefore they prayed that this their protest might be sustained, and that the proceedings herein might be dismissed, and that otherwise right and justice might be done.

The Court was then adjourned to March 12, when Sir Walter Phillimore began his argument before the Archbishop, his Assessors and Vicar-General, which was continued through Tuesday and Wednesday. The Court then adjourned to Wednesday of the following week, when Sir Walter Phillimore concluded his argument. Mr. Jeune then followed, closing the argument on behalf of the Bishop of Lincoln. Sir Horace Davey and Dr. Tristram replied for the Promoters of the suit, concluding their arguments on the following Tuesday.

The Rev. O. J. Reichel, the author of the most valuable work on Canon Law that has appeared in recent years, remarks in the *Law Journal* that—

The question now raised by the Bishop of Lincoln's protest is whether the transfer of judicial functions from synods to ordinaries was ever lawful, or, at least, whether it is now lawful since the Reformation statutes. Whatever the decision may be, there is a curious irony about the position in which it places all the parties to this suit, compelling the Bishop of Lincoln to take his stand on the lay legislation of Henry VIII in bar of a Metropolitan's ordinary jurisdiction; the Church Association to defend a practice legally sanctioned by Popes Gregory VII, Innocent III, and Gregory IX; and on the day of commemoration of Gregory the Great (March 12), who sent Augustine to be the first Archbishop of Canterbury and gave him jurisdiction over the suffragans whom he was directed to consecrate, compelling Augustine's successor to decide whether he has any jurisdiction over any one of them.

THE Rev. Sidney Wilbur was Deposed by the Bishop of Western New York, February 22, for causes not affecting his moral character.

Churches Consecrated.

January 8. S. Luke's, Mariana, Florida, by Bishop Weed.

January 8. Church of the Epiphany, Ozone Park, Long Island, by Bishop Littlejohn.

February 10. Grace, Suisan, Northern California, by Bishop Wingfield.

March 3. All Saints, Council Bluffs, Iowa, by Bishop Perry.
 March 17. Christ Church, Bowling Green, Kentucky, by Bishop Dudley.
 March 31. Waddel Memorial, Richmond, Va., by Bishop Whittle.

Ordinations.

DEACONS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Church and Place.</i>
Allen, George E.,	Brewer,	January 17,	S. James', Cambridge, Mass.
Brady, C. T.,	Worthington,	February 24,	Cathedral, Omaha, Neb.
Callender, W. R.,	Niles,	January 4,	S. Thomas, Dover, N. H.
Crickmer, E. St. John,	Gilbert,	February 4,	Cathedral, Faribault, Minn.
Fenn, Percy Thomas,	Potter,	March 17,	Zion, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.
Hawthorn, W. J.,	Seymour,	January 3,	Grace, Sandusky, O.
Helfenstine, Edward T.,	Paret,	March 19,	All Saints, Frederick, Md.
Holly, John Alfred,	Williams,	March 17,	Christ Church, Middlet'n, Ct.
Hubbel, Johnson,	Whitaker,	March 16,	Epiphany, Philadelphia, Pa.
Johnston, H. Digby,	Spalding,	January 1,	Cathedral, Denver, Col.
McKinzie, Benj. Sumner,	Lyman,	February 26,	S. Mary's Ch., Rowan Co., NC
Phares, Edward,	Quintard,	January 26,	S. Barnabas, Tullahoma, Fla.
Pearson, Robert West,	Kendrick,	February 15,	Trinity Church, Phoenix, Ari.
Reedy, James J. Hamilton,	Perry,	March 3,	S. Paul's, Council Bluffs, Ia.
Thomas, T. Cory,	Knight,	March 28,	Cathedral, Milwaukee, Wis.

PRIESTS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Church and Place.</i>
Bremner, George,	Potter,	March 17,	Zion, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.
Brugler, Charles E.,	Potter,	March 17,	Zion, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.
Curzon, J. E.,	Pierce,	February 18,	Cathedral, Little Rock, Ark.
Ferguson, Charles,	Perry,	January 1,	Cathedral, Davenport, Iowa.
Irish, George M.,	Doane,	March 19,	Cathedral, Albany, N. Y.
Jefferson, Ralph T.,	Burgess,	March 17,	S. Mary's, Knoxville, Wis.
Jenner, E. L.,	Knight,	March 31,	Cathedral, Milwaukee, Wis.
Keech, F. J.,	McLaren,	January 25,	Chapel, Racine College, Wis.
Maison, William Emmot,	Whitaker,	March 16,	Epiphany, Philadelphia, Pa.
Robinson, Lucian M.,	Whitaker,	March 16,	Epiphany, Philadelphia, Pa.
Skinner, F. M.,	Watson,	January 24,	Trinity, Hartford, N. C.
Williams, Louis Llewellyn,	Lyman,	March 13,	Christ Church, Raleigh, N. C.

Episcopal Elections and Consecrations.

Diocese of Michigan.

The Special Convention for the election of a Bishop assembled in S. Paul's Church, Detroit, Wednesday, February 6. The Rev. Dr. Clark presiding. Fifty-two out of fifty-eight clergymen entitled to seats were present; 109 Lay Delegates were present. An Informal ballot was taken with the following result: The Rev. Henry Y. Satterlee, D.D., 109; the Rev. Samuel Earp, D.D., 25; the Rev. G. Mott Williams, 8; the Rev. J. N. Blanchard, 7; the Rev. R. W. Clark, D.D.,

3; the Rev. S. W. Frisbie, 3; the rest scattering. The formal vote was then taken with the following result: Dr. Satterlee, 48; Dr. Earp, 2; the Rev. G. Mott Williams, 1; the Rev. Dr. J. W. Brown, New York, 1. The Lay Delegates then cast a formal ballot as follows: Dr. Satterlee, 103; others, 13. On motion of Dr. Earp the election of the Rev. Dr. Henry Y. Satterlee of New York was made unanimous by a rising vote, and the "Gloria in Excelsis" was sung by the whole Convention.

Previous to the formal vote, on motion of Gov. Baldwin, a committee had been appointed to draft resolutions pertaining to the loss of the late Bishop. This committee, consisting of the Rev. Dr. McCorroll, the Rev. Mr. Stevens, Dr. Hall, Mr. S. D. Miller and Prof. Sill, not being ready to report, Gov. Baldwin moved that it be continued and their report be printed in the Diocesan journal, which was carried. On motion of Gov. Baldwin a committee was appointed to convey to Dr. Satterlee the result of the election. The chair appointed Dr. Earp, the Rev. Messrs. Johnson and Stevens, Gov. Baldwin and Mr. Thomas Cranage. On motion, the Rev. Drs. Clark and Blanchard were added to this committee, and the Special Convention adjourned *sine die*.

The Reverend JOHN MILLS KENDRICK, D.D.,

was consecrated Bishop for the Missionary Jurisdiction of New Mexico and Arizona, Friday, January 18, in Trinity Church, Columbus, Ohio, of which Church he was the Rector. Morning Prayer was said at 9 o'clock. The Office for Consecration was begun at 11 o'clock. The Rev. F. O. Grannis was Master of Ceremonies. Bishop Rulison, Assistant Bishop of Central Pennsylvania, was the Preacher. Bishop Tuttle of Missouri was Consecrator, assisted by Bishop Dudley of Kentucky and Bishop Knickerbocker of Indiana. The Rev. Dr. Bodine, President of Kenyon College, and the Rev. Peter Tinsley, D.D., of Cincinnati, were the Attending Priests. The Hon. L. Bradford Prince, formerly Chief Justice of New Mexico, read the Certificate of Election.

The Reverend BOYD VINCENT, D.D.,

Rectory of Calvary Church, Pittsburg, Pa., was consecrated to the Bishopric of the Diocese of Southern Ohio, on the Feast of the Conversion of S. Paul [January 25], in S. Paul's Church, Cincinnati, Ohio. The Rev. Dudley W. Rhodes was Master of Ceremonies. Bishop Spalding of Colorado was the Preacher, and was also the Consecrator, assisted by Bishop Dudley of Kentucky and Bishop Whitehead of Pittsburg. Certificate of Election was read by Rev. F. O. Grannis, Secretary of the

Convention, and the Testimonials by the Rev. I. McK. Pittinger, President of the Convention. The Consent of the Standing Committee by the Rev. David Pise, D.D., President. The Consent of the House of Bishops by Bishop Dudley, and the Commission Consecrators by Bishop Whitehead. The Attending Priests were the Rev. Samuel D. McConnell, D.D., of Philadelphia, and the Rev. Peter Tinsley, D.D., of Cincinnati.

The Bishop of Colorado read the following demission of powers executed by Bishop Jaggar to the newly-consecrated Assistant-Bishop, which will be forwarded to the Presiding Bishop of the House of Bishops for its archives:

To all Men to Whom these Presents Come, Greeting:

Be it hereby known that I, Thomas Augustus Jaggar, D.D., by Divine permission Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Southern Ohio, being unable by reason of continued infirmity to discharge the duties of my office, have, in accordance with the provisions of Title I, Canon xv, Section 5 of the Digest, assigned and do hereby assign to the Rt. Rev. Boyd Vincent, Assistant-Bishop of the Diocese aforesaid, all the duties and powers of the said office, and have empowered and do hereby empower him, the Rt. Rev. Boyd Vincent, to exercise all the authorities which appertain to the office of the Bishop of the said Diocese.

And I do further declare that this demission of duties, powers and authority is intended to be and is irrevocable, and will not at any time be by me revoked.

In testimony of which I have hereunto set my hand and caused my Episcopal seal to be affixed, this 8th day of January, in the year of our LORD 1889, and in the fourteenth year of my consecration.

THOMAS A. JAGGAR.

Bishop of Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of Southern Ohio.

Bishop Vincent was presented with a beautiful episcopal ring of amethyst and gold, by friends at Erie, Pa., where he was born, baptized and confirmed, and where his first ministry was performed; and with two fine sets of episcopal robes and an office-desk of antique oak by Calvary parish, Pittsburgh, his last charge.

The Reverend CYRUS F. KNIGHT, D.D., D.C.L.

THE Rev. Cyrus F. Knight, D.D., D.C. L., Rector of S. James Church, Lancaster, Penn., was consecrated Bishop of the Diocese of Milwaukee, in the Cathedral Church of the See city, March 26. The Rev. S. T. Smyth was Master of Ceremonies. The

procession was made up of the Standing Committees of Milwaukee and Fond du Lac, preceded by the Deans of Convocation, Cathedral Chapter, Visiting Clergy, Diocesan Clergy, Seminarians from Nashotah and the Cathedral Choir. Then, preceded by Crucifer, and attended by their Chaplains, the line of Bishops, being the Assistant Bishop of Minnesota, and the Bishops of North Dakota, Springfield, Iowa, Quincy, and Chicago, with the Bishop-elect of Milwaukee, marched from the clergy house, and took their official position at the rear of the procession.

Bishop Seymour of Springfield, was Preacher; Bishop McLaren of Chicago was Consecrator, assisted by Bishops Perry of Iowa, Seymour of Springfield, Burgess of Quincy, Walker of North Dakota, and Gilbert of Minnesota. The Rev. Edward P. Wright, D.D., and the Rev. Theodore M. Riley, S.T.D., were the attending Priests. The Rev. C. L. Mallory, D.D., Secretary of the Convention, read the Consent of the Standing Committees; the Rev. Wm. B. Ashley, D.D., President of the Standing Committee and Convention, the Consent of the Bishops, and Bishop Walker the Commission to the Consecrators. After the Laying on of Hands, the Pastoral Staff was presented to the Bishop of Milwaukee, and preceded by his Staff Bearers he was conducted to the Episcopal Throne by the Attending Priests.

CANADA.

We propose to give the same record of Consecration of Churches, Ordinations, Episcopal Consecrations, etc., in Canada, that we do in the United States, but we have not been able to correctly compile the Statistics for the present Volume.

Necrology.

ENTERED INTO REST ETERNAL.

January.

I.

Rev. EDWARD H. CUMMING, Priest.
Springfield, Ohio.

II.

Rev. HENRY HOBART MORREL, D.D., Priest.
Wheeling, West Va.

III.

Rev. WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, M.A., Priest.
Millidge Lane, Portland, Canada.

V.

Rev. JAMES B. BRITTON, Priest.
South Pasadena, Cal.

VI.

Rev. JOHN ROWLAND, Priest.
Somerville, N. J.

IX.

Rev. RICHARD TOTTEN, Priest.
Helena, Ark.
Rev. ROBERT G. HINSDALE, D.D., Priest.
Biloxi, Miss.
Rev. GEORGE THORP, B.D., Priest.
Ishpeming, Mich.

XIX.

Rev. ABRAHAM B. FLOWER, Priest.
Brooklyn, Mich.

XXI.

Rev. ALEXANDER SIDNEY FALLS, Priest.
Amherstburg, Canada.

XXVII.

Rev. CHARLES GOODRICH, D.D., Priest.
New Orleans, La.

XXX.

Rev. GEORGE MACAULEY, Priest.
Atlanta, Ga.

February.

III.

Rev. Canon GEORGE C. STREET, Priest.
Winter Park, Florida.

VII.

Rev. ZU SOONG YEN.
Hong Kew, Shanghai, China.

IX.

Rev. WILLIAM TIBBETTS, M.D., Priest.
Port Dover, Canada.

XVI.

Rev. ALBERT ZABRISKIE GRAY, D.D., Priest.
Chicago, Ill.

XXI.

Rev. FRANCIS WHARTON, D.D., LL.D., Priest.
Washington, D.C.

XXII.

Rev. WILLIAM HENRY COOK, D.D., Priest.
New York City.

March.

III.

Rev. THOMAS B. CLARKSON, Priest.
Eastover, S.C.

Rev. JOHN F. FINLAY, Priest.
Greenville, S.C.

X.

Rev. W. S. VIAL, Priest.
Quebec, Canada.

XIX.

Rev. CHARLES E. D. GRIFFITH, Priest.
Crafton, Pa.

XXII.

Rev. JOHN F. GERAULT, D.D., Priest.
New Orleans, La.

XXIV.

WILLIAM HENRY GROSER, A.M., Priest.
New Ross, N.S., Canada.

XXXI.

Rev. THEODORE N. MORRISON, D.D., Priest.
Chicago, Ill.

It is our intention to give a brief account of the life of deceased clergymen. It has been impossible to do so in this record, but it will be done in the following volume. Should the readers of the REVIEW find that this list is not complete, we will be most thankful for the necessary data to make it so. The information needed to complete the Biographical notices which hereafter will follow the obituary notices, will be

the date and place of birth, full Christian name, where educated, fields of labor, place and date of interment, and all the general information bearing on the life and the work of deceased that can be given.

In Memoriam.

ALBERT ZABRISKIE GRAY, D.D.

The Rev. Albert Zabriskie Gray, D.D., late warden of Racine College, entered into rest on Saturday night, February 16, in Chicago, Ill. The funeral services were held at the Church of the Transfiguration, New York. A deep sympathy was manifested by the large gathering on the occasion, representing as it did religious, literary, and social circles of the city. The rector of the church, Dr. Houghton, was assisted in the services by the Bishop of New York, the Rev. Dr. Dix, of Trinity, the Rev. Dr. Brown, of S. Thomas's, and the Rev. Mr. Brown, of S. Mary's church. Several other clergymen were in the chancel, and many more among the general audience.

Dr. Gray was born in New York, March 2, 1840, and made his preparatory studies in this city and in Geneva, Switzerland. He graduated at the University of New York in 1860, and again went abroad and attended lectures on theology under Dr. Merle d'Aubigné and Prof. La Harpe, Geneva; completed his theological studies at the General Theological Seminary, and was ordained to the ministry in 1864. Immediately afterward he entered the army as chaplain of the Fourth Massachusetts cavalry, commanded by Col. Rand, operating in Virginia. In one of the numerous engagements before Richmond he was captured, but shortly after, on the fall of that city, he was released, after enduring some of the hardships of a prisoner of war. On the return of peace he was elected to a parish at Bloomfield, N. J., where he remained two years, when his health, which had always been delicate, failed him, and he resigned to go abroad in the hope of recovery. He visited the principal countries of Europe, making a prolonged stay in Italy, and thence extended his travels to Egypt and Palestine. On his return, after an absence of three years, in greatly improved health, he became rector of the Church of S. Philip, in the Highlands, at Garrisons, where he remained until his election as warden of Racine College, in which office he was installed December 6, 1882. The event was made memorable by the presence of a distinguished array of bishops and clergy of the Church, and the attendance of many eminent and literary men from several states. The Hon. John Bigelow, of this city, the Hon. Theodore Romayn,

of Michigan, and Judge Doolittle made addresses on the occasion. The six years which succeeded were devoted faithfully to the discharge of the arduous duties of his office. The college under his administration has well maintained its position for its high standard of scholarship, and in the number of students there has been, until the last year, an average increase. Dr. Gray made himself very popular with the students by his paternal kindness and care, having frequent gatherings of them at his residence. His house was a centre of generous hospitality to the numerous visitors to the institution.

The General Convention—of which Dr. Gray was a member—meeting at Chicago in 1886, adjourned to visit in a body the college, on his invitation, in order that it might be better known to the Church at large. But many of those who made the visit, though pleased with the picturesque situation, and its classic buildings, saw the difficulties of maintaining such an institution without an endowment, when nearly half of the students, as sons of clergymen or of officers of the army, were either free, or were entitled to pay but half-rates.

The resignation of Warden Gray, though coming suddenly on the community, was not entirely unexpected to his intimate friends, who had long seen that his cares and anxieties were wearing upon him, and that he had but partial support from those on whom he had the right to rely. But certain differences with the Trustees brought on an emergency, which prompted immediate action on his part, and he handed in his resignation, which he declined to withdraw, though urged to do so by a committee of the Trustees which waited on him. There had been unfavorable action, in which he considered that his own dignity and that of his office were concerned, and the personal urgency of his friends could not influence his own sense of duty, which was a characteristic of his whole life.

After his resignation Doctor Gray remained a few weeks to the close of his college term, and then went to Chicago to settle up his private affairs. Keenly sensitive to criticism, he naturally felt very deeply the estrangement of friends, who urged him to withdraw his resignation, and were offended that he did not. Numerous unfriendly remarks and criticisms on his administration of the College and his services in the chapel were reported to him, but he was too gentle in his nature to reply or to enter into any controversy, and he resolved to go abroad for rest, where he would pursue congenial studies and for awhile devote himself to literary pursuits. Meantime, one who had been an able teacher in the grammar school, Professor Smith, whom he had appointed on the recommendation of the late Bishop Harris, and who had been removed by the new administration, was taken ill at Janesville and had been sent to a

hospital. Dr. Gray was notified, and he hastened to be at the bedside of the sick man and to relieve his wants. The weather was stormy and the train delayed, so he only arrived in time to minister the spiritual consolations of the Church. The next day the Professor died, and the day following Dr. Gray was taken with a congestive chill, which prevented his attending the funeral of his friend. He returned to Chicago, where after five days of suffering he died. His father was telegraphed for, and arrived in time to be with him in his last hours. Canon Knowles, a valued and dear friend, was in constant attendance and administered the Sacraments to him, and saw him laid in his coffin with all due solemnity, in the presence of his wife and a few friends.

This is not the time to enter upon an analysis of Dr. Gray's attainments as a teacher, writer, or theologian—in each of which he acted his part. It is to be hoped a memoir of him may be prepared at some future time. He was essentially æsthetic in all his tastes, and in every way refined as became a Christian gentleman. He was devoted to the poor, and was constantly ready to minister to the sick. He was a poet of no mean order, having written many poems which will long survive him. At the time of his death he was on the Committee appointed by the General Convention to revise the Hymnal. He had taken an active part in aid of the Free Church in Italy and in Mexico. He had published several volumes of poems and sketches of travel in Palestine and in Mexico. Columbia College, at its centennial celebration, conferred upon him the title of Doctor of Divinity. Like all sincere and earnest natures, Dr. Gray had decided opinions in theology, but was ever courteous and considerate in the expression of them. He had his crosses and his trials—which being now over, we may say, in his own words :

“ O happy they, whose faith and love
Through grave and gate of death endure !
Thrice happy they, who from its sleep
Rise to the vision of the pure ! ”

THE REV. GEORGE C. STREET, M.D.

The Rev. Canon GEORGE C. STREET, M.A., entered into the rest of Paradise, at Winter Park, Florida, February 3, 1889.

At a meeting of the clergy of Chicago, Feb. 8, 1889, Bishop McLaren presiding, the following minute was adopted :

It has pleased the Ever-blessed Trinity to call our dear friend and brother, GEORGE CHARLES STREET, Honorary Canon of the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul, Diocese of Chicago, from the labors of earth to the rest of Paradise.

We, his bishop and his brethren, have met to consign with the rites of Holy Church his mortal remains to the grave, and it is emi-

nently fitting that we should put on record our sorrow at the loss of his earthly presence, and our respect and love for his life and character.

He was a true gentleman. No man more than he carefully observed all those courtesies which tend to soften life, no man endeavored more truly to fulfill all the duties of the society in which he was born and lived. A generous hospitality marked his home, and a kinder friend or one more willing to oblige could not be found.

He was a true Churchman. Thoroughly versed in the reasons for the Church's being, he was ever an uncompromising advocate of her claims and a staunch upholder of her doctrine, discipline, and worship. Like a true priest, he magnified not himself, but his office, to him the noblest on earth, and never did he forget the dignity, the reserve, the self-sacrifice, which Holy Orders entail upon him who has ventured to assume them.

He was a true Christian, devout, spiritually minded, following humbly in the footsteps of his Master. His holy, blameless life for long years, a life filled with labors in our LORD's vineyard, is the best attestation of the reality of his Christian character and the sincerity of his profession.

May he rest in peace and may perpetual light shine upon him.

The Secretary of the Diocese is requested to transmit to his sorrowing family this expression of our feelings, and to assure them of our perfect conviction that while they mourn his taking away, the blessed ones in Paradise rejoice over the advent of a new brother.

The Secretary will also take measures for the publication of this minute in the Church and secular papers.

WM. E. McLAREN,
J. P. D. LLOYD,
C. A. CAPWELL,
C. H. BAGGS,
D. F. SMITH,
W. H. MOORE,
A. LECHNER,
J. G. H. BARRY,
A. V. GORRELL,
A. W. LITTLE,
GEO. B. PRATT,
WM. C. DEWITT,
E. A. LARRABEE,
T. N. MORRISON, JR.,
L. PARDEE,
G. S. TODD,
C. W. LEFFINGWELL,
C. LOCKE,
J. N. CURTIS,
C. C. TATE,

F. J. HALL,
J. S. SMITH,
WM. H. VIBBERT,
M. STONE,
C. E. BRANDT,
A. B. LIVERMORE,
L. A. ARTHUR,
H. C. PERRY,
W. DELAFIELD,
WM. RICHMOND,
J. E. THOMPSON,
T. D. PHILLIPPS,
T. N. MORRISON,
J. H. KNOWLES,
J. RUSHTON,
E. R. BISHOP,
H. W. SCAIFE,
L. S. OSBORNE,
R. R. UPJOHN,
S. C. EDSALL.

EDITORIAL NOTICE.

Persons wishing to contribute to THE CHURCH REVIEW should, before sending the article, communicate with the Editor stating the subject and number of words in the proposed article. Every article appearing in the REVIEW must be over the author's name, who alone will be responsible for the views expressed therein, the Editor only being responsible for the propriety of admitting it; and the list of articles for each quarterly volume will, before publication, be submitted to, and approved by, a majority of a Committee consisting of one Professor from each of the following Theological Schools, viz.: *General Theological Seminary*, New York; *Berkeley Divinity School*, Middletown, Conn.; *Theological Seminary*, Virginia; *Divinity School*, Philadelphia; *Nashotah House*, Nashotah, Wis.; *Seabury Divinity School*, Faribault, Minn.; *Episcopal Theological School*, Cambridge, Mass.; *Theological Department, University of the South*; and the *Western Theological Seminary*, Chicago. The policy of the Editor being to make the REVIEW as comprehensive in its tone as the Church itself.

The Editor earnestly requests that the friends of deceased Clergymen and prominent Laymen, will send to him with as little delay as possible, a brief account of the life and work of their departed brethren for permanent record in the REVIEW.


All Editorial communications should be addressed to the Rev. Henry Mason Baum, P. O. Box 1839, New York, N. Y.

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